

**BOURASSA'S
REFERENDUM
PLAN**

Maclean's

DIGGING IN FOR THE GROUND WAR

**A CRITICAL
LAND ASSAULT
LOOMS**

**THE OIL THREAT
TO THE GULF**





Seeing Is Not Believing

The conflict in the Persian Gulf is widely regarded as the world's first live TV war. That is accurate, as far as it goes. But seeing the war so a kind of beguiling Nurekio game creates a numbing sense of security, and an overall impression that the full story of the war is emerging. In a not, it is, in fact, difficult to recall any conflict, from the Crusades to the Suez, the Normandy beaches, Korea and Vietnam, where so little has been known by its many ends so little certainty about the conflict and direction of a war. Television coverage has indeed been low, almost too low, within its limits, responsible. But it is so tightly controlled in its access to the war by the Americans, British, Canadians and other members of the UN coalition, and its reports are so rigorously censored that TV basically shows what governments want shown. The few lively news firms made try, still as that of CBS's Peter Arnett, a genuinely outstanding journalist, but he, too, is strictly controlled in his movements, and his reports are censored by the troops.

As a result, what TV provides is a sense, sustained coup d'état designed to promote the cause of the coalition. It is a certainty better than nothing. But it is far from enough. Historically, reporters for magazines, newspapers, radio and television could engaged far more freedom to place events in their context by travelling widely and independently in battle areas to collect information—even if it was considered highly. That placed journalists at far more risk than is the case when they were only in so-called pools controlled by the military—the system in place in the Gulf. But if you consider that viewers are far broader, often heavily biased, appreciation of the progress, victories, defeats and brutalities of conflict. The right to such information is a basic one for citizens of democracies. Unless far more of it is forthcoming soon, disillusionment with officially sanctioned reporting—and distrust of the politicians and generals who are running the war—will widely become unsurmountable.

Ken Waples



PHOTO BY AP/WIDE WORLD

Maclean's

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Your Mother Taught You To Feed A Cold,
But What Did She Say About
The Sinus Congestion That Comes With It?

If you're like most people, nursing the regulars, you just never learned about sinus congestion.

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Surely, your mother wouldn't ever recommend that.



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LETTERS

PRIDE AND WAR

When Indochina invaded East Timor, did we across an army and set a deadline to get them out? When the United States invaded Panama and kidnapped its head of state, did we across an army to oppose them? Will we set a deadline for the Soviets to get out of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia? The billions of dollars now being spent in the Middle East to the delight of American and European arms manufacturers, could have been used to make the desert bloom—without anything would have been better than this current spending ("Flames of War," Cover, Jan 26). By doing this way, the world's political leaders have shown not that they are willing to die for peace, but that they are willing to kill for profit.

David M. Jones,
Guelph, Ont.

It is neither stupid nor criminal to want peace, but it is stupid to expect it to be free, and it is criminal to let other others have attained already without paying our share of the price.

Samuel M.D.,
Framingham

It is with deep sadness that I reviewed another act of Canadian bigness, and a covered seemingly limited wounds of another war 50 years ago. I wish that I could believe in the "new world order," the best buzz word of contemporary politicians. Time will tell whether my hopes or the human experience will win out. I am not optimistic.

Horwood de Wit,
Ottawa

A BIG CHUNK OF CANADA

In your seventh annual *Manitoulin/Devils* poll (Jan. 15), "with a representative national sample of Canadian residents in 10 provinces," it is nice to know that we in the North still do not qualify in Manitoulin's eyes as part of Canada. Funny, the map on page 26 clearly shows that we are there—the big chunk up over the top called the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Beverly Blackwell,
Wausau, Yukon

RECOGNITION FOR A HORSE

My horse, Lucky Charms Little Prince, happened in your *Roan* Roll in the category with Maize Tammen ("Shilly into the limelight," Dec. 21). I thought we were just out of level a career recognition with the photo-graph. Prince is a 5-year-old registered American Mustang Horse and Multiple Grand Champion, and for the past two years has been



Battle over Baghdad: 'desert Moors'

a participant in the riding pet program at a number of therapeutic hospitals. So you see, the little horse that graced the pages of your magazine is special too.

Dale Towlin
Meyers Minutary House,
Richmond Hill, Ont.

PASSAGES

ASCENDANT: To the throne of Norway, King Harald V, the first Harald to reign since the 12th century Harald III, was crowned after his father, King Olav V, died on Jan. 15. Norway's last King Harald was crowned in 1125 by a rural chieftain for the honor. Norwegian parliamentary tradition required the latest Harald to swear his allegiance to parliament. "I promise and swear that I will rule the kingdom of Norway in accordance with its constitution and laws," he said. Harald was accompanied in the ceremony by Queen Sonja, who was the first queen to enter parliament since 1922. Norway, a country that has no monarchy, abolished monarchical in 1905.

CONVICTED: In the *Weekend of Rascal* (Jan. 15), Peter Bittman, 41, the first look to all as a member of Parliament, of several interferences with a child under the age of 14. Federal Judge Edward Richard sentenced him to 15 months in jail after officials testified that Bittman, the MP for the Mounting riding from 1979 until 1984, touched the victim with his hand "for a sexual purpose." Bittman was formerly married to Susan Maers, daughter of former federal Indian Affairs minister John Maers.

DEED: Robert Choquette, 85, Canadian poet, novelist, radio dramatist and diplomat after a long illness, in Montreal, Choquette, born in Manchester, N.H., was taken to Montreal as a child. At 30, he published his first collection of poems in

THE HONEST TRUTH

I take exception to Diane Swanson's characterization of some opponents of the Free Trade Agreement as "intellectually dishonest." ("Selling out truth from fiction," Column, Jan. 14). It had the same effect on me as Simon Swanson's characterization of some opponents as "left-mongers and liars... who get their just deserts" after the 1985 election. I disagree with many of her conclusions, but I do not consider myself "intellectually dishonest."

Oscar Winkler,
Riverside, B.C.

Almost all those looking for work—and there are more than a few of us—could have reformed Diane Swanson that there is a huge wage discrepancy between manufacturing and the jobs (which we have lost) and service-sector jobs (which we have gained). Jobs are now forced to take a service-sector job will have a tough time maintaining the standard of living they have become accustomed to. In this sense new definition of "prospering."

Yvonne Klossner,
St. Catharines, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence to Letters in the Editor's Mailbox is signed. Please include Zip. 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5G 1A7.



AP/WIDE WORLD

1931, he began a 30-year career in radio. He became national general in Burlington, France, in 1964.

SEY: By Toronto track star Ben Johnson, a Canadian record of 6:20 seconds in the 55-m sprint, in his third race—and his first victory—since his comeback from a two-year suspension for taking steroids in Dallas. His speed was better under the previous record of 6:31 seconds, but well off his pre-suspension pace of 6:01 seconds, which was erased from the record books.

SCORES: By St. Louis Blues right-winger Brett Hull, two goals in the fifth game in the season, making him only the third player in National Hockey League history (after Wayne Gretzky and Mario Lemieux) to score 50 goals in fewer than 50 games.



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OPENING NOTES

Margot Kidder provokes war supporters, 'La Fans' cheer for the Canucks, and Vander Zalm's fortune is in the stars

A COLLECTION OF EXCESSES

Fans of Lucy Maud Montgomery, best known for *Anne of Green Gables*, will have a field day with *After Mary Dept*, a new collection of long-forgotten short stories. Detectives may, too. The 18 stories, to be published in April, confirm Montgomery's reputation as a prolific writer—but also as one given to sensational beats of fictional prose. One story, *Between the Hill and the Valley*, has appeared only once before in the monthly *Maclean's* of April, 1915. The opening sentence reads: "It was one of the most, pleasantly odorous nights of early spring." It gets better—er, goes deeper, worse—in the tale about about



Regina Follens: actress's Anne

two lonely characters, separated by their social classes, who finally declare their love after years of long-distance dialogue. Where Montgomery (who died in 1942) "She told her delicate, high-bred free, fearless love shining in every basement, to his, and they exchanged their first kiss." And many of the other stories, chosen from the 340 that Eric Wimbush, editor of the collection, found in Montgomery's scrapbooks in 1979, are filled with similar romantic excesses. Said Wimbush: "Lucy Maud believed that these people deserved happy endings because they showed all the right virtues: fortitude, forbearance, gentleness." But readers may have to show the same qualities. Added Wimbush: "People should read them for what they are, not for what they are not. They are old-fashioned." So much for great expectations.

Team spirit and free advertising

As the Vancouver Canucks begin their season in the NHL's Pacific Division, at least two fans have committed body—read are not afraid to show it. Wearing neon-pink baseball caps, knee-trimmed shorts and black T-shirts emblazoned with the words "La Canada Fans," two Vancouver teenagers and part-time models have been scouting games and revving up the crowds at Pacific Coliseum. The two self-appointed cheerleaders, Valerie G. and Lillian R., asked Maclean's not to use their full names. Said Lillian: "Just use our initials. We don't want to get phone calls from people who don't understand what we're doing." But Lillian's brother, G. officials appear to understand perfectly. The lawyers, well-known for *La Canada* commercials, has approached *La Canada* Fans about their spirit of performances. Val-



Lillian and Valerie: a career in marketing

erie and Lillian hope the company will at least offer them free tickets as, even better, said Valerie, "I want to make a career out of this, and if that means marketing, sales or promotions in sports, well, that would be right up my alley." On the road to *La Baby Street*.

TERRORISM ETIQUETTE

The Metropolitan Toronto clerk's department has instructed about 200 employees to mind their manners when responding to bomb threats over the phone. A directive issued five days after the outbreak of the Gulf war tells workers to remain "calm and courteous." The memo reminds employees to ask threatening callers such pertinent questions as "What time will the bomb explode?" and "Where is it?" Said department head Daniel Crumley: "I certainly don't think we'll ever get a threat, but you never know." *How Messy* seems to be proved.

AN ACTING PEACE ACTIVIST

As a supporter of the U.S. National Campaign for Peace, Canadian actress Margot Kidder is one of the loudest critics of the Gulf war. And she is not alone among many Americans who say that she is simply using fellow actress Jane Fonda's legendary opposition to the Vietnam War. Kidder, who played Lois Lane in the Superman movies, shocked Americans by saying that because Baghdad is under attack, Iraq is justified in publicly humiliating captured pilots. Said New York City resident Alvin



Kidder: angry made loveless

Pinder being angry?



Matthew, who is organizing an anti-Gulf war rally: "We Jane Fonda all over again. She is out of line." But Kidder, who, like Fonda, has appeared nude in *Playboy* magazine, is unapologetic: "Soldier Heaven is a monster," she said. "But the ultimate human rights issue is war. The Bush administration—and only the Bush administration—brought this on." She added that the war was caused by macho politicians and an overreliance of the male hormone testosterone circulating in the Gulf theatre. Declared Kidder: "Let's end the perpetration of this toxic level." After dating Superman, she should know.

Hanky Panky



Property: an ability to accuse

As a junior hockey player in Ontario, detective Royce Pagarty didn't have much to his ability to score—a talent that has not been as evident since he joined the 1980s Quebec Nordiques last season. Indeed, Nordiques coach David Clendenen has occasionally berated the 21-year-old from Brantford, Ont., for his inconsistent play for the club's worst team. Earlier this month, however, hockey insiders speculated that Pagarty may have scored Clendenen's wrath for a different type of save. Apparently, Pagarty and a teammate stuck up a conversation with two young women whom they had overheard speaking roughly at a Quebec City discotheque. Pagarty later left the nightclub with one of the women, an attractive, blond university student from Ontario who was to Quebec's visiting her father—coach David Clendenen. Pagarty subsequently sat out three games, telling his agent: Toronto-based Gus Baskin, that he had hurt his little finger. Baskin said that he had heard rumors of Pagarty's involvement with the coach's daughter. But he said that the encounter was probably innocent. Clendenen's daughter Lisa is beautiful and said Baskin: "Pagarty is a down-to-earth, laid-back and wonderful actor. He'll have no trouble in the professional future."

Listening in on the war

Non-redio operator Don Newlands is busy circumventing U.S. military censors from his home in Colborne, Ont. Newlands's operation, *World News Monitoring*, is in communication with radio operators in the Middle East. Said Newlands: "With my state-of-the-art equipment, I can bypass the sanitizing effect of the U.S. military." He added that the information he receives is in great demand, but he declined to say when he is selling information to. Newlands told Maclean's: "As we speak, I am tracking troop movements in Iran. But you can't interview me." From Ontario with love.

A CUSTOMARY RESPONSE

Canada Customs officials, whose mandate includes barring obscene material from entering the country, have expressed advance interest in American *Psycho*, the controversial new novel by U.S. author Bret Easton Ellis. Bookstore House is handling Customs distribution of the novel, which depicts a serial killer's gruesome dismemberment of women victims. Bookstore House publisher Susan Bookbinder said that Canada Customs has requested a copy of *Psycho* from its U.S. publisher, Vintage Books. But Marguerite Anderson, a representative for Canada's National Action Committee on the Status of Women, advised: "Don't buy this book, don't read this book. And tell your bookstores not to carry it." It gets past Canada Customs.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES

Sideways, says, "The book is not a new story, but it is a new way of looking at the genre." But B.C. Premier William Vander Zalm appears to think otherwise. Vander Zalm was the leadership of the Social Credit party in 1986, supporters accused that he was drinking his horseage. And two books on his trips, *Playground and Sunrises*, have referred to the pre-

mier's supernatural nature. Now, there is speculation that he may call a general election. And according to Vancouver tabloid *Snapping Snappers*, the best time for Vander Zalm to go to the polls is under either May 29, which happens to be the premier's birthday. "Burdens are always heavy, and he's right up there," said Snappers. He has criticized the 1986 to "not a peak year" for the Canada premier. Snappers also said that an election under Vander Zalm is at least as likely as Mr. Premier, because the day of May



Vander Zalm: a sunny prospect

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COLUMN



Standing up to a murderous tyrant

BY BARBARA AMIEL

The debate in Canada over the Gulf war was writhed. Moral leadership in a short supply in this country, and it is likewise comfort to find that Maloney the only person providing a sentence of it. "What's thinking that evil will go away if we wait it to be fully enough," he told the Canadian debate, "has no place in serious decision-making."

World's thinking? That seemed to me a generous phrase to explain the attitudes of the Liberal and new leadership to the war. To this day, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin still seems to believe that it is wrong to stand up to Saddam Hussein, even after his attempts to expand the war in Saudi Arabia and Israel. "This war will certainly mean thousands of innocent people killed," she said, "it is the people who pay the price."

One wonders what terrified the liberals. Some people have already paid the price after the destruction of Kuwait. Is that what we are ought to let the people of Saudi Arabia and then Israel pay the further price rather than have the international coalition put a stop to the campaign? For now, Liberal Leader Jean Chretien's repeated calls for his coalition to stand up to evil. "We live in a world of human beings, not of robots," he told the Commons. "When the ecology of the planet is at stake, when the future stability of the Middle East is at stake, we will always exercise caution." Could he seriously consider some pollution to be a worse evil than Saddam Hussein?

Not that all these arguments were unique to Canada. All manner of European politicians have announced that if only Saddam would now withdraw from Kuwait, we could all sit down with him for a round of jolly talks in the future of the Middle East. The results of such people's thinking are what arguments can they possibly muster to back their notions?

There are those people whose peace-loving proceeds from a special agenda such as a cautious or unconscious fear of liberal democracy. There are some who have a phob-

The fact that we are unable to remedy all evil is no argument for failing to remedy the evil that is within our power to correct

cal sense of guilt about being white or over-Third World citizens. There are those who support the UN or Islamic fundamentalism. This peacekeeping is convenient and makes sense. But, after subtracting them, one is still left with men and women who have a genuine love of peace and yet seem unable to recognize what the world lives in Saddam—a murderous, arrogant tyrant. What are the arguments the Liberals and others use to justify this appeasement? The first one is that the West is engaging in moral relativism because we have not consistently intervened militarily at every moral cause and, indeed, are contemporaneously ignoring such matters as the problems in the Baltic republics. This is a correct observation even though the wrong conclusion is drawn from it.

I may choose not to fight the thing who tried to steal my wallet at gunpoint yesterday while hanging on to it like mad when an unarmed young boy goes for it today. The point is not my accountability, but what it is possible for me to do. Taking on the Soviet Union over the Baltics today would bring on the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union is weakened and desperate. Concerning the Somalis now at their own backyard as to more dangerous that it would have

been when they were a lot, happy people trying to cross another African or Asian country for their borders.

True, a number of regions after that Kuwait have been awarded or ignored and the West has not fought for them. Demanding that we do so in the name of consistency is foolish. The mere fact that we cannot remedy all the evils in the world because of physical limitations or certain dangers is absolutely no argument for not remedying the particular evil that a nation has power to correct.

Chretien and McLaughlin felt that sanctions had not been given enough time to work. One is bemused. How can sanctions ever work with a dictator who is utterly indifferent to the suffering of his people? Sanctions would have hurt Saddam only when they hurt his army. In the meantime, every available resource in the country would have been channelled to his army. In effect, he could have developed nuclear weapons before the sanctions reached the point of having him. In my view, every single day after the invasion of Kuwait, apart from those days necessary for the West to build up its forces, were days that increased the magnitude of the eventual bloodshed—simply because Saddam used them to build up his forces. The whole point about sanctions is that they are largely ineffectual. If they did not need against Saddam in the first two months, then you run the risk of keeping your army in the desert for years, doing the one thing that an army cannot do, namely sitting on its hands. In the meantime, inside in support, and the coalition falls apart. To suggest that we should have given sanctions more time to work is worse than making a deal with Saddam.

In the end, what one insists most about those who oppose standing up to Saddam is that they talk as if the start and conduct of this war were entirely at our hands. This war began in August with the invasion of Kuwait, and it could have ended any time had Saddam wanted it to. And indeed, the only and danger the West faces is if at the next time while Saddam decides to withdraw from Kuwait is the same of the Persian gulf. The coalition is on the condition to then withdraw from the region will be successful.

The truth is, America has not invaded from Vietnam and remains in trying to conduct hostilities like a video art game with surgically precise moves in which they can win. Under that scenario, Saddam will be the hero, his 2,000,000 soldiers in his hands, awarded up to 2,000,000 votes a day by the multinational forces, and even managed to destroy some important buildings at his own expense, engaging more than 50 per cent of his air force or troops. He could then go back to Baghdad with most of his army intact and all the conventional dangers implied.

Saddam Hussein and his military might must be destroyed. We first solve all the Middle East problems, we can solve them surgically. Of course not. But the question is why? If I care myself of pneumonia, I won't make my own life better or solve any of my other problems, but I'll certainly not have pneumonia.

QUEBEC'S DEADLINE

**QUEBEC MAY CALL
A REFERENDUM ON
INDEPENDENCE
NEXT YEAR IF
OTTAWA DOES NOT
CEDE NEW POWERS**

Since he entered politics in 1966, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa has made another hallmark of his political style. In fact, one of Bourassa's favorite maxims is a quotation from former British prime minister Harold Wilson, who once said "A week is a long time in politics—and a year is no staying." To keep Quebecers, the legitimacy of that adage becomes apparent over the past few months. Bourassa spent much of the period away from public view as a result of skin-cancer surgery last September and following surgery in November. During that time, support for Quebec sovereignty surged, and Bourassa's own party frequently appeared in disarray. Since his return to public life in mid-January, Bourassa has tried to stanch separatist sentiment—and has time to give his views of renewed independence a final try. Last month, the 57-year-old premier and members of his Liberal party completed their planning for a bold last-ditch strategy to rewrite the Canadian Constitution.

Those politicians, Mulcair's learned, custom rewards that will art the clock ticking away towards a deadline for dramatic constitutional reform. In a document prepared by a committee of Quebec Liberals for release this week, the party calls for a referendum on the province's constitutional future to be held by the autumn of 1992. In the meantime, Quebec would continue to refuse as it has since the failure of the Meech Lake accord last July, to take part in talks involving this country's 10 other First Ministers. But according to Liberal strategists, Bourassa's government would use the time before the referendum to negotiate with the federal government in pursuit of new powers in a variety of fields.

These priorities would likely be handed largely to the Quebec Liberal party's constitutional program, which will be formally decided at the party's convention in March. But it is already



Bourassa: a touching display of affection—and pressure to act on sovereignty

clear that the province will demand that Ottawa cede authority over a wide range of functions. Among them: virtually all areas affecting the everyday life of Quebecers, including education, justice and municipal affairs. The plan would leave the federal government in control of national affairs, defence and monetary policy—areas of national interest. If those demands were accepted, Bourassa would ask Quebecers in the proposed referendum to support the agreement.

But the inkling of negotiations, one senior adviser to Bourassa told *Maclean's*, could pro-

pel Quebec into independence. In fact, if the rest of Canada failed to agree to Quebec's terms, the adviser and other prominent Liberals said, the referendum would assume that Quebecers to support full sovereignty.

Across the rest of the country, that strategy is likely to cause mild reactions ranging from surprise to hostility. The annual *Maclean's* Decima poll published early in January found that 61 per cent of respondents were opposed to granting Quebec special powers. The same survey, however, also found that Canadians were much more willing to let Quebec acquire

additional powers if their own province received the same authority. And in an opinion piece in the emerging Quebec state paper, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is now working on a federal approach that offers all of the province broad, if expanded powers in key new constitutional packages (page 30).

Bourassa's new initiative reflects the depth of the separatist passions that many Quebecers now share. One poll conducted earlier this month by the Montreal firms of Legier and Legier indicated that 66 per cent of Quebecers now support political independence. Even such liberalist figures as Industry Minister Donald Boudreau have acknowledged that Quebecers' minds were made up. "We don't have time," Boudreau has said. "We have to move."

"Canada has to fight to convince Quebec to move back, because it's my impression—and I've been throughout Quebec—that they've already left," Bourassa has indicated in his early campaign to call for a referendum in response to strong and widely based public sentiment for such a mechanism. Among the Quebecers who support a referendum are the majority of both Quebec City and Montreal.

Meanwhile, the Bélanger-Campagna Committee, which has been studying how to approach the province's future, appears certain to produce findings in a report due late in March that will sharply criticize Quebec's current status. After five months of public and private hearings, the two commission co-chairmen, businessman Michel Bélanger and Jean Campagna, have suggested what they describe as an "irritation" of the benefits and testimony received. In a draft of the document, parts of which were leaked to media organizations including *Maclean's*, the two men said that there are strong reasons to doubt "the capacity of the rest of Canada to provide the constitutional changes which respond only to the aspirations, needs and proper reasons of Quebec."

Of the more than 500 letters submitted by various individuals and groups since hearings began last October, an overwhelming majority have favored independence. These have been mostly dissenters linked in one manner or another to the process around the debates, two students presenting opposing views engaged in a one-on-one debate at one of two special sessions that the commission held last week for representatives of young Quebecers. But, for the most

part, the youthful speakers echoed their elders in strongly supporting independence. In fact, noted Parti Québécois MP Jacques Gauthier, the young man was with him for several hours about ways of remodeling federalism. "He added, 'They do not want to put their energy into something they believe will lead us in four years back to where we are now.'"

The handful of strong federalist commissioners are not that they are not what they are and was the biased tone of the majority of participants. Richard Holden, a member of the National Assembly who represents the English-rights Reform party, for one, said that Bélanger and Campagna's evaluation paper "reads like the transcript of Job. It is so accurate."

Clearly, even the traditionally liberalist Liberals are not immune to the collecting public mood. Since the collapse of the Meech Lake accord in June, the provincial party has not taken a formal constitutional position. A 13-member committee created by Bourassa even before the Meech failure, led by lawyer Jean Allard, has been studying alternatives for future courses of constitutional action. After polling more than 4,000 Liberal activists and voting each of the party's 100 local associations at least twice, the committee members found wide support for greater autonomy for Quebec. Acknowledged one, Stéphane Bédard, "There is a strong conviction among people to be in control of the issues that affect their daily lives."

In Bourassa's absence, some members of Allard's committee have pressing for a strongly worded demand for greater provincial powers—and for a referendum this year to back that demand. In fact, it was not until early last week, following meetings with Bourassa and several senior ministers, including Public Security Minister Claude Ryan, that the committee agreed to a less confrontational stance. Bourassa's ministry of the committee's conclusions also resulted in a final document that was far less pro-independence at issue than earlier drafts. One of the first drafts proposed by committee members called the Quebec to declare its sovereignty and to demand only then to negotiate the terms of a new political relationship with Canada. But then, Bourassa returned to work on Jan. 14. Immediately, there was a palpable change in the tone of discussion about the Constitution—both within the committee



Parsons 'never closer' to achieving the PQ's goal

National Notes

A CABINET REWRAPING

Devising any wraparound and saying that he welcomed the investigation of what he called "insiders," Bayliss, 50-year-old, resigned as New Brunswick's minister of consumer and technology. The RCMP confirmed that it is investigating allegations that Mr. Bayliss awarded contracts to a company managed by his son's political associate while Bayliss was chairman of the provincial utility.

SEVERE FALLOUT

As their strike entered its fourth week, Manitoba's 10,500 nurses resumed negotiations with the provincial government. Meanwhile, Health Minister Donald Groulx announced that cancer and heart patients who were unable to get urgent surgery at Manitoba would be sent to hospitals in other provinces.

PROTECTING CULTURAL CITIZENS

A group prepared for the Canadian chapter of the International Women's Rights group said that federal calls to serve communications programs introduced last February violated international commitments made by Canada to protect native cultural development.

A WIDENING SEE SCANDAL

Ontario Provincial Police led 49 charges of sexually abusing children against 20 residents living in and around Prescott, Ont., a town of 4,600 located 180 km south of Ottawa. Sexual charges were laid last year against 11 other Prescott-area residents, and police now say that over 15-month investigation uncovered a total of 77 victims.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

Police arrested an 18-year-old man who was carrying three hand grenades in downtown Toronto, charging him with threatening to blow up an office building. The part-time high-school student was wearing camouflage clothing. Toronto Police Chief William McCormack downplayed the significance of a Palestinian declaration on his arrest, saying "A lot of people wear different designs."

CHANGING DISCREET

The Ontario Police on Canada's Police, headed by Keith Spicer, announced that it is reviewing the list of questions being asked at public forums across the country. One question that will be deleted would have asked how powers should be divided among federal, provincial and local governments. Spicer said the change was made because "People don't have specific views about that."

and among other Liberals. Said one Liberal cabinet minister, all the pre-announcing letters at work under the party. "There is a lot of herding going on right now."

As well, advisors to Bourassa have reportedly emphasized that the Alliance candidate's final report will serve only as a set of recommendations to the government on how to handle future constitutional negotiations. They stress that the group's suggestions will not be binding on Bourassa. Still, the premier's aide acknowledged that the committee's wide consultation will lead to recommendations of significant political weight.

As well, demands for an early and clear declaration of intent by Quebecers emerged in the Liberal caucus in the National Assembly. Party members estimated that as many as one-third of the 90 Liberal members of the legislature favored an early referendum. Some of these members also said likely that after March 1995, they are prepared to support independence with Guy Bélanger, for one, said that the strong Liberal caucus was now as low as a referendum reflected the party's wish to give Quebecers' desire for independence an opportunity for expression. Declared Bélanger: "The Liberal party has taken into account the views of the people." And the president of the party's youth committee, Michel Boissacourt, said that the Liberals should be prepared to support independence for the province if the rest of Canada does not agree to Quebec's future demands.

But at the same time, Bourassa's apparently complete recovery from his surgery for angina and pneumonia carried an emotional impact among Quebec voters that appeared likely to have the unexpected side effect of generating new support for his leadership. For years, polls have shown that most Quebecers have looked

upon the premier as an economist by training, with respect—but with little affection. Indeed, Bourassa has deliberately cultivated a cool, serious public image and generally guards details of his private life. The romantic image is a sharp contrast to the private Bourassa, who is renowned among longtime supporters for his



Speer: a search for common ground between Quebec and the rest of Canada

upon his private, very warm of humor and an unerring ability to recall details of his acquaintances' family lives. Said L. Ian MacDonald, author of *From Bourassa to Bourassa*, a 1994 book on Quebec politics after the 1976 victory in 1976: "There is a warm side to Robert that the public never sees. He is the

master of the fine and private gesture."

For many Quebecers, Bourassa's illness provided their first glimpse of the premier exposed to a personal crisis with which even the most politically astute among them could sympathize. The result was an outpouring of affection that startled observers—and appar-

ently deeply touched the premier. One sign of that came in the end of last December, when the Radio-Canada television network aired its customary year-end review program, entitled *Bye Bye 90*. At the close of the program, actress Geneviève Miché, speaking on behalf of the cast, sent get-well wishes to Bourassa—



OTTAWA'S NEW NATIONAL VISION

While Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals discussed their constitutional plans last week, strategists with the Conservative government in Ottawa conferred on their efforts. Senior advisors to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that they were aware of—and endorsed—Bourassa's efforts to keep constitutional negotiations alive. Said one senior Mulroney adviser of Bourassa: "He is doing everything reasonably possible to make some time to make a deal." As well, the adviser said that Bourassa and Mulroney have considered "a number of times" as recent weeks.

For their part, Mulroney and his advisors are preparing to meet a new constitutional initiative across Canada. Outside Quebec, the Prime Minister will press the message that as future constitutional negotiations, all provinces will be offered the opportunity to square substantial new powers if they want

them. At the same time, recent polls show that while many Canadians are disillusioned with constitutional negotiations, a majority of them would support new powers for Quebec—if they are offered at the same time to other provinces. Victor Malouin will also emphasize the potential losses the Quebecers risk from separation. As well, several members of the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future—the federally sponsored candidate panel headed by former premier Keith Spicer—said last week that they will make their first visit to Quebec to sound out public reactions in early February. Then, they said, they hope to find common ground between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

But federal constitutional efforts have several significant obstacles. Mulroney is hampered by his and his party's low standing in the polls, the unwillingness of many Canadians to use new constitutional talks begin and procedural delays. Last December, the Prime Minister created a panel committee of 16 men and women to study changes to the present constitutional amending formula. Many observers say that the ongoing formula, which allows any province

to block constitutional changes, is the biggest obstacle to reform. The committee is supposed to report to Parliament by July 1. But for fear that would heavily erode the committee's role in the Senate, where the Liberals are seeking a series of changes.

It is well known that many people are also wary that Mulroney's tendency to shake off the effects of the March 1995 election's failure in June continues to push the atmosphere for future negotiations. In particular, they quickly criticize his continuing public effort to blame the deal's collapse almost entirely on Liberal leader Jean Charest and Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells. "March 1995 was supposed to be Mulroney's golden accomplishment," said one longtime friend. "He has to get these feelings off his chest." But he added: "In time, he will move on." With the prospect of another Quebec referendum looming, time is becoming an ever more critical factor.

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and then suddenly coincided with the hope that he would recover soon, "so that we can get back to making fun of you." Bourassa later wrote a thank you note to the cast and producers of the program.

Along with such expressions of sympathy over Bourassa's illness, there was a clear mixture of relief and delight among Liberals at his apparent recovery. Although Bourassa was given a clinic full of health care in mid-December, he delayed his return to public view for close to a month. Bourassa, indeed, said he felt his new appearance—and the estimated 15 lb. of weight that he had lost during his treatment—would arouse alarm. By the time of his first public appearance, on Jan. 16, he had regained weight—and had plenty used his convalescence to rebuild his personal energies while he plotted his new political strategy.

Advisers to Bourassa said that the premier considered three options as he and his staff prepared their constitutional strategy. These included, among others, postponing the elections on constitutional change indefinitely while focusing entirely on economic issues, leaving to public pressure to hold an immediate referendum or working towards a referendum at a later date.

One of those advisers told Maclean's that the group rejected the first option because of the overwhelming intensity of pro-independence feeling among many Quebecers after the collapse of the Meech accord. By contrast, they rejected the second choice because of data that an immediate referendum would provide a better backdrop to the rest of Canada that would scuttle any hope for future negotiations.

Now, by delaying a referendum, the Liberals are preparing a constitutional position aimed at convincing Canadians in other provinces to negotiate with their party—rather than with a future government formed by the pro-sovereignty PQ. With a general election likely to take place in the fall of 1990, said one Liberal cabinet minister, "the rest of the country can make a choice of dealing with us or watching the PQ wave goodbye to Canada."

As for the PQ, many of its activists say that they have never felt more optimistic about their chances of doing precisely that. According to a Lévesque and Lévesque poll released last week by the daily newspaper *Journal de Montréal*, the PQ leader's Liberals in public support by a margin of 47 per cent to 38 per cent. And more than 1,500 delegates gathered at a convention in Québec City during the weekend to debate, among other topics, the choice of a national anthem for an independent Québec and plans for a flag-raising ceremony on the

first formal day of independence. Among the invited observers: Lucien Boivin, the former Tory cabinet minister who is now leader of the pro-sovereignty Bloc Québécois in Ottawa. The party is clearly trying to attract Boivin, whom PQ leader Jacques Parson, recently described as being "out from the clutches of premiers," to run as a candidate at the next provincial election. Declared Parson: "We have never been closer to achieving our goal."

Still, by setting a referendum date that is more than 18 months away, the Liberals clearly hope to reduce the intensity of the debate. The decision also appears likely to appease sovereigntists within the party, who had been threatening to break ranks over the issue. At the



Sovereigntist young Quebecer back independence


same time, pro-independents within the party can hope that the delay will allow time for attitudes to change in the rest of the country. Declared Ryan, the party's former leader: "I know that a lot of people in other parts of Canada keep an open mind on these matters." He added: "I hope they can prove it." Indeed, far from being indecisive both inside and outside the province, meeting the looming deadline for Québec's constitutional demands placed a greater pressure than ever before on Canadians' willingness to accept each other's viewpoints—and to compromise on their own.

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FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY

They came in waves, ghettos of demonstrators who marched to the walls of the Kremlin under extremist flags and hand-lettered placards demanding the resignation of President Nikolai Gorbachev. Beneath chilly, overcast skies, about 300,000 people filled Moscow's Manezhnaya Square, in Jan. 10 to protest the bloody Soviet military assault on the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius one week earlier. The size of the demonstration, crowding with smaller protests in six other Soviet cities, was a dramatic indication that the country's democratic reform movement could still muster an impressive show of support. But its violence continued in the Baltics, and central authorities supported Soviet media reports of those events may people in the crowd seen the Kremlin record fears that the nation was sliding toward dictatorship. Said Tamara Kozlovskaya, a 23-year-old economics student: "This could be the last demonstration of its kind if the reactionary forces around Gorbachev get their way."

The emboldened Soviet president has come under fire from liberals and conservative alike for his refusal to take political responsibility for the actions of his security forces in the Baltics. Among them: a truck-led assault on unarmed civilians in Vilnius on Jan. 13 that left 14 people dead, and a shootout between the major security elite black-belt troops and local police in the Latvian capital of Riga on Jan. 20, in which five people were killed. That military crackdown has also ignited widespread international criticism and prompted Canada and other Western donors to delay or even cease aid to help shore up the deteriorating economy of the Soviet Union, where authorities last week imposed draconian new currency restrictions. (According to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and other critics, Gorbachev has denied that conservative pressures had forced him to abandon reform. Speaking at a hastily called news conference last week, the Soviet leader declared: "I decisively reject any speculation, all suspicion and slanders on this score. The goals of perestroika, democratization and pluralism were and will remain lasting values, guarded by presidential power.")

In fact, Gorbachev last week performed a new-fangled balancing act between rebel lib-

AS A KREMLIN CRACKDOWN ON REBEL REPUBLICS CONTINUED, PUBLIC ANGER SPURRED PROTESTS

erals and resurgent conservatives as he tried to deal with the crisis in the Baltics. As authoritative reports circulated in Moscow that he was about to assume presidential rule on Latvia, Gorbachev held a lengthy meeting with Latvian President Anselms Gorbunovs in Jan. 22. According to Gorbunovs, the two agreed that such a drastic step was unnecessary. Later that day, Gorbachev promised that



Demonstrators in front of the Kremlin, firemen battling an automobile blaze after violence in Riga (opposite), determined to regain independence

he would launch an investigation into the Jan. 13 assault on Vilnius's television transmitter. And Gorbachev, who at first defended the local military commander who had authorized that assault, declared that "unsubstantiated accusations" by troops were unacceptable. Responding to reports that the National Salvation Committee, a shadowy pro-Ku Klux Klan organization in Lithuania, had supported the military action, Gorb-

chev also said that he would not tolerate any further attempts by right-wing groups to seize power unconstitutionally.

The Soviet press also seemed to investigate the black banner assault on the local police headquarters in Riga last week. Witnesses said that red and green tracer rounds from the rifle-fence automatic weapons lit up the night sky over central Lithuania after 9 p.m. A fierce exchange of gunfire lasted for about 30 minutes, and sporadic shooting continued for another two hours. The hours after the battle first erupted, the black banner remained on the barracks, but five people died in the night's skirmish, among them two policemen and a member of a Latvian documentary film crew in Moscow. Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo later denied that he had ordered the attack. And pro-Soviet legislators said that the violence erupted when black letters came under fire from police headquarters, where they had gone to seek information about an alleged gang rape of a cast member's wife. Latvian government officials denied that local police fired first.

Gorbachev expressed sympathy for the victims of the rioters. But he continued to insist that the Baltic states drive for independence and republican laws, which he said threatened to spark Russian-sponsored minorities in the region, were the root causes of the recent bloodshed. "My main task," Gorbachev said, "is not allowing an escalation and struggle, to

normalize the situation, to achieve accord and cooperation." He added: "Any course that leads to the liquidation and disintegration of the republics' governments must be rejected."

But many Baltic nationalists expressed determination to regain their independence, lost when the Soviet Union forcibly annexed the three states in 1940. In the Baltic capitals last week, hundreds around the legislative buildings remained in place, and special defense units of draft-age volunteers stood guard against any further attacks. Some politicians expressed disappointment that Gorbachev had withdrawn control over the military to prevent further bloodshed. Said Andrius Kossionis, the deputy chairman of the Latvian legislature: "Very often after his speeches, the army and officers go into the opposite."

In Vilnius late last week, where a militia of about 200 men armed with a motley array of weapons was still guarding the parliament building, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said that he isolated himself among those militias. He added that on Jan. 23, he sent Gorbachev a telegram saying that Lithuanians were prepared to believe that the recent Soviet assaults in Lithuania and Latvia did not reflect the Soviet leader's policies. But he urged Gorbachev to offer concrete proof of his desire for calm in the Baltics by ordering Soviet troops to withdraw from the buildings that they have occupied during the crackdown. Those sites included the main printing press in Latvia

World Notes

TIANJIN TRIALS

A Chinese court sentenced Wang Guo, the Beijing University student at the forefront of the 1989 pro-democracy movement, that troops and tanks crushed in Tiananmen Square, to four years in prison. The 23-year-old history student had been charged with counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement. At least 24 key leaders of the popular uprising have been sentenced or tried in the past five weeks while the world's attention has been focused on the Peking Golf crisis.

SOUTH AFRICAN REFORM

President F. W. de Klerk said South Africa's whites only parliament to allow severe parcel housing and demolition. His proposed amendment to existing property laws could overturn 40 years of enforced segregation in housing and the reservation of 44 per cent of all farmland for whites. Meanwhile, human rights groups stepped up demands for a new government investigation of an alleged police cover-up of death squads, which are believed responsible for the killings of more than 35 anti-apartheid activists over the past 10 years.

JUSTICE FOR A HAD

In the first successful prosecution of a former fist for the murder of a gypsy during the Second World War, a German court sentenced Erwin Koenig to life imprisonment. Judge Dirk Beyer declared Koenig, 71, a former SS guard, guilty of personally leading three gypsy families to the Auschwitz death camp. The brutal treatment of prisoners under the Nazis was overshadowed by the extermination of six million Jews.

SHOOT IN RWANDA

French paratroopers in Rwanda executed 146 Rwandans, including 14 Canadians, after riots attacked the northern town of Kibuye. The paratroopers requested a convoy to take the Rwandans to the capital, Kigali. The attack on Rwandans was the most serious since October, when several thousand rebels, led by radical members of Rwanda's assembly Tutsi tribe, attacked outposts of the army from neighboring Uganda.

AVENGING THE PAST

Dalgerian authorities announced that Tadeusz Dzierko, the country's head of the former Communist leader, who has been under house arrest since a Polish court in November, 1989, will go on trial on Feb. 25. Dzierko, 58, is charged with corruption and abuse of power during his 32-year reign.



and Lithuania and the Vilnius TV transmitter.

That same day, however, for supporters of black-burnt troops, armed with automatic weapons pulled up at Vilnius's main paper-and-ink marketplace. According to a Lithuanian government spokesman, two civilians who identified themselves as Communist party representatives, accompanied by 30 soldiers, cleared the building as party property. Members made the warehouse and did not meet the seizure. And a Lithuanian spokesman said that most of the soldiers' publications in the republic had their own sources of newsprint and did not need the paper stored in the warehouse. But Lundberg's saying that the interview was designed to keep the republic's press, declared: "It will certainly increase tension." It is another sign of these tensions, there were unconfirmed reports at week-end that former Lithuanian prime minister Kazemys Pranaskevicius, who resigned last month, had applied for asylum in Switzerland, apparently because he feared for his life in the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, meanwhile, Vilnius convinced the Russian parliament a full week ahead of schedule. He told deputies that only Russia, with more than half of the Soviet Union's population and most of its natural resources, could contain the collapse. And he is expected to the 14 other republican leaders, Lithuanians argued that by acting in unison, they could block a return to dictatorship. Added

Yel'tsin: "The reactionary changeover occurring today has not yet become irreversible."

Still, the Russian parliament failed to pass a resolution condemning the so-called National Salvation Committees in Latvia and Lithuania. The resolution, supported by Yel'tsin, would



Lithuanians burning candles at a vigil for a dictatorship.

have turned such anonymous, pro-Kremlin organizations in the Russian republic. Although supporters voted 117-0-0 in favor of the measure, it did not pass the absolute majority needed in the 230-member parliament. The fate of that resolution weakened the powerful, and yet vulnerable, position that Yel'tsin occupies in Soviet politics as the leader of the most powerful republican government. He represents the only significant counterbalance to Kremlin rule. But although polls confirm that he is the most popular and trusted politician in

the Soviet Union, he does not have complete control over the Russian legislature.

Certainly, Yel'tsin dominated the Jan. 20 protest rally in Moscow, even though he was not present. His aides later said that he had stayed away out of concern that he might be the target of an assassination attempt. But speakers after speakers drew huge roars of approval from the otherwise empty-crowded simply by mentioning his name. The largest outcry came after one speaker relayed the Russian leader's message that the danger of dictatorship was becoming a reality.

Clashes between Yel'tsin and Gorbachev burst forth daily from the country's press, radio and television. Their Gorbachev appears to have an advantage because the Kremlin controls such powerful media instruments as state television, radio and Presses the Communist party's main-communication daily newspaper. All of them have largely held to the official line, blaming Baltic governments for provoking violence. But because Gorbachev has succeeded in the past five years in keeping the ruling state monopoly of the media, alternative newspapers are also available in Moscow and other parts of the Soviet Union. Last week a rally in honor of the Kremlin, coupled with widely circulated reports of similar anti-Gorbachev events elsewhere, suggests that glasnost might just be sturdy enough to withstand a prying slash by its founder.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

RUBLE TROUBLE

Soviet citizens, long accustomed to lengthy waits to buy food and other necessities, were lined up outside banks last week for lightning money that allowed commerce across the country. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev declared on Jan. 23 that 50- and 100-ruble notes would no longer be legal tender by Jan. 25. The Soviet leader issued his decree after most businesses had closed for the day, giving buyers holders of the green and brown notes only three days to exchange them for smaller denominations. The decree also limited exchanges to an exchange rate five months' value, up to a maximum of 1,000 rubles—about \$40 at the official rate, although the ruble is not convertible. One reason for that limit, Soviet officials said, is that the big bills are a currency of the black market. As a result,

people trying to convert large amounts of the now-banned denominations will have to explain the source of that money. Declared Valentin Pavlov, the recently appointed prime minister:

"If you pay in 500 rubles and you hand in 100,000 rubles, less of course there will be questions immediately."

The surprise decree, which Gorbachev said was aimed against speculation, corruption, smuggling and unearned incomes, plainly angered many citizens. It halted monthly bank withdrawals for only 500 rubles, or \$244, significantly less than the average monthly wage. Pensioners were limited to monthly withdrawals of 500 rubles. The Russians of 50- and 100-ruble notes will likely feel hardest of those provisions, many of whom say that they prefer to keep their savings at home. Sergei Kapustin, a 67-year-old former engineer who passed an angry burning candle in a Moscow bank the first morning of the exchange period, acknowledged that he should have big bills at home—put aside for his funeral. "Nothing like this happened even in Stalin's time," said Kapustin.

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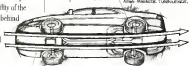


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THE END OF ILLUSION

**POWs, A MENACING OIL SLICK
IN THE GULF AND A LOOMING
GROUND WAR BROUGHT IT HOME**

One of them was badly burned around the right eye, and his hair was severely matted. Another, his body covered in blood, was in pain, did not, or could not, raise his head. Nine others—five Americans, two British, one Italian and a Kuwaiti—appeared early last week before Iraqi video cameras in Baghdad. Most of them told their captors—and the world—in Italian, Arabic, Russian how they had become the first known alien prisoners of war of the Persian Gulf campaign. In unscripted, sometimes rambling words, some of them blurted like war-weary leaders, pressed the Iraq people and spoke to their families. The public statements, which appeared to validate the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of POWs, touched off widespread outrage and speculation that the Iraqis had been beaten or drugged. Whatever the facts, one thing was certain: For millions of people in Western Europe and North America, the shocking TV images destroyed forever the illusion that the Gulf war was an impersonal, high-tech contest.



In a week when Canadian C-18 fighters undertook the country's last offensive air action in nearly 45 years, early reports from the Gulf were dominated by Baghdad's fervent exploitation of the POWs and its announcement that they would be held as human shields at strategic sites. That threat, and the captives caught up and, drove home the peril, misery and heartache for those fighting, fleeing or simply enduring the war. Then, graphic videotaped tape of a huge oil slick leaking from a Saudi Arabian oilfield and the peril to the region's ecology (page 30) [see Israel's determination not to strike back appeared to contrast, despite Iraq's almost daily bombardment of the cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa with Scud missiles, causing at least eight deaths and hundreds of injuries by week's end (page 48). The Scud attacks also continued in the Saudi Arabian cities of Dhahran and Riyadh, where they have killed at least one person and injured roughly 20. And along the Saudi-Kuwait border, soldiers of the coalition camp, preparing for the beginning of an intense war on the beaches and on the ground (page 30).

Refugees fleeing the U.S.-led coalition's bombing of Baghdad, some of them penniless, others with money and plane tickets, jammed into the Jordanian border post of Rosehah. Some spoke bitterly of having seen civilian casualties and wounded soldiers. One refugee, caught by the bombing, said that if he came upon an allied pilot, "I would drink his blood." The United Nations Disaster Relief Office reported that as many as 20,000 Iraqi refugees were expected to enter Iran, whose officials said that the number could reach 300,000. And in New Delhi, the government dispatched troops to search for 134 Indian soldiers who disappeared after leaving Baghdad for Jordan on Jan. 22.

Meanwhile, the war took a dramatic and ominous turn. American and other coalition attacks incited Hameed of clashing huge quantities of oil into the Gulf. Saudi Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams: "This is clearly an act of environmental terrorism." On Saturday, the Pentagon confirmed reports that part of the oil spill was on fire. Iraq officials insisted that the spreading slick was a result of American bombings of oil tankers, a claim that U.S. military officials in Saudi Arabia flatly denied. Earlier in the week, Baghdad had accused Hameed's forces of setting fire to two oil refineries and an oil well in Kuwait, sending enormous clouds of black smoke high over the Persian Gulf.

Convoys: The Pentagon also said that at least 24 Iraqi aircraft had landed in Iran by week's end. Sent on course Maj. Gen. Martin Brosnahan, a senior officer with the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff: "I am only guessing that they either one, don't want to fight or, two, are defecting—or the possibility that they are trying to hush their resources." But the U.S. officials added that they had no assurance from Iran that any planes landing there would not be permitted to re-enter the conflict.

In Saudi Arabia, there was jubilation at the emergence of the country's



An American F-14 taking off over the Red Sea vowing to make Saddam Hussein 'pay for every violation of decency'

first Top Gun, one of its pilots shot down two Iraqi Mirage fighters in quick succession. But in Washington, London and the Saudi desert, the optimistic predictions that accompanied the Jan. 17 beginning of the 30-nation assault on Iraq had already diminished. On the ground, U.S. and Iraqi troops exchanged fire in northeastern Saudi Arabia. Coalition forces, motor pools and supply convoys continued chugging north through the desert towards the Kuwaiti border and 340,000 dug-in Iraqi troops, including 150,000 members of the elite Republican Guard.

Politicians and commanders alike warned of a long war. President George Bush told a reserve officers' group that although Operation Desert Storm was "right on schedule," there would be "setbacks and casualties." Declared Defense Secretary Richard Cheney: "No one should measure that Saddam Hussein doesn't have significant remaining military capability" (page 32). At the same time, the total allied manpower in the war had some analysts began discussing the forces that may emerge at the region after the shooting stops (page 36).

For the Canadian strains and groundcrews stationed on the outskirts

of Doha, capital of the Gulf emirate of Qatar, there was an ominously swayed beach as the cloudy weather. Eight days after Ottawa decided to commit C-18s to escort allied fighter-bombers, clear skies allowed them to join the battle for the first time (page 38). At the Canadian Forces bases in Cold Lake, Alta., Halifax and elsewhere across the country, spouses and parents loved their loved ones sharpened by a heightened sense of concern (page 42). And as one Palestinian in Ontario, medical personnel, including two 30-member surgical cases, left last week to train in Saudi Arabia before setting up a field hospital (page 43).

'Volunteers': Meanwhile, antiwar protests grew around the world. In one of the largest so far, an estimated 200,000 demonstrators converged on Bonn on Saturday. Many banners accused German firms of selling to the Iraqis expertise and technology that allowed them to produce chemical weapons and to extend the range of their Scud missiles—far enough to strike Israel.

But it was Iraq's apparent disdain for the Geneva Conventions' requirement that captives be protected from "mock and public crimes"

COVER

TV IMAGES OF CAPTIVE ALLIED PILOTS PUT A HUMAN FACE ON WAR

ity" that produced the most emotional reaction in North America. It stirred memories of suffering in the prison camps of North Korea and Vietnam, isolated the troops deployed across the Arabian peninsula and heightened their families' blood demands.

The formal parading of allied pilots? British Prime Minister John Major called the action "inhuman and illegal." Several British and U.S. politicians said that Hussein should eventually be tried for war crimes. And in a U.S. address in South Africa, Mr. Scott Hill, a 58-year-old A-10 Thunderbolt pilot from Chagrin Falls, Ohio, declared that he and his comrades "will let our leaders and my fellow pilots pay for every violation of decency."

Former detainees of the POWs reacted with an uneasy mix of relief and outrage. Al Gore, President Clinton's deputy, said that the captives "were treated with the same respect and dignity as they would be in the field." But he also said that the captives "were treated with the same respect and dignity as they would be in the field."

captivity," said Dr. Robert Rabe, a psychiatrist at the University of Nevada in Reno. "They can always find a reason to grieve, you will confess to something." As a result, the U.S. military code of conduct, which once consisted of cap-



Allied commander Gen. Norbert Schwarzkopf, oil fires and spills

tured American personnel reveal only their names, ranks and social preferences. We released it now merely adds seven more faces to the mosaic of the enemy "to the best of their ability."

But said Latham, a pilot overseen by the



POWs John Peters (left), Jeffery Zann and Guy Hunter re-unite

reactions shook of spicing from a cramped aircraft has no time for reasoned judgments. "There is immediate consideration and well-consideration at the loss of one plane and then falling into enemy hands," he said. "They are then surrounded by other hostility." The captive reports what he has to say to satisfy his captives, and Latham, and "some are

making confessions that are partly true, that one knows will be used for propaganda, that the guilt events and the subsequent plays on the guilt and uncertainty that with hostages." Those methods, according to Latham, will break down a prisoner deprived of sleep as little as 24 hours.

For former American POWs in Vietnam, the allied captives in Iraq evoked painful memories—and massive outpourings of sympathy. After watching the Baghdad tapes, retired colonel Fred Cherry, 68, of Silver Spring, Md.,

who spent 140 years in captivity, said: "There is an question in my mind, that they were physically abused. You don't get bruises and lacerations like that when you are a prisoner." He added: "The tone of voice they spoke in told me that the statements were rehearsed so they were coming from a script." Cherry became the highest-ranking black American to be imprisoned in North Vietnam when his F-105 fighter was shot down while making a low-level bombing run in 1965. He said that he was held in solitary confinement for 192 days and tortured for 93 of them. Added Cherry: "The guard would come in frequently and stamp on my ankles and legs and then beat me on the face."

Another former POW in Vietnam, John McCain, a now a Republican senator from Arizona. After watching the Iraq tapes last week, McCain, a former navy hero who spent 5½ years in captivity, told *Newsweek*: "I think they have been mistreated. I don't like to see the word 'tortured,' but I don't like to see the word 'mistreated' and now they are making statements and using words they don't mean."

One of the Americans who appeared before the cameras in Baghdad was U.S. master Lt. Col. Clifford Adams, 38, of Camp Pendleton, who was shot down over southern Kuwait on Jan. 14. Capt. Adams wrote his husband a letter: "I, he said in part: "You have some excellent friends abroad of you, but when you get tired or discouraged or overwhelmed, just think of the strong love I have for you and that I will be here for you regardless of what happens. Stay strong." He was captured before the letter reached him.

RUE CORRELL was ANDREW PHILLIPS was OMAHA MAN JAMES W. QUINN. ANZALY REAGANZEE in Washington and correspondents reports.

BLIGHT ON THE SEA

A MASSIVE OIL SLICK SPREADS IN THE GULF

Blame was broken and in the Persian Gulf, environmentalists expressed concern that a major conflict in the region could have dangerous environmental consequences. Last week, the leak was heightened when a heavy oil slick appeared off the shores of Kuwait and spread steadily down the Gulf. U.S. officials in Washington swiftly ordered lease forces in occupied Kuwait of deliberately pumping crude oil into the waterway. Iraq charged that the slick came from tanks damaged by American airplanes. That, it said, was not. British military sources said that "a small portion" of the slick—reported to be 38 miles long and eight miles wide at the time—was an oil.

Some officials said that the spillage may have been designed to obstruct an amphibious landing in Kuwait by cuts of the civilian forces engaged against Iraq, in month that U.S. carriers have been ordered. Others warned that it might contaminate shoreline desalination plants that produce freshwater supplies for the area countries that border the Gulf. The slick might also disrupt shipping, by closing the waters that deliver oil from Gulf oilfields. And environmentalists said that the oil slick, if unchecked, could cause an ecological disaster. Said Tom O'Brien, a spokesman in Ottawa for the environmentalist organization Friends of the Earth: "Ultimately, the spill could kill the entire Persian Gulf."

Danger: The cause and extent of the oil spill were clouded in confusion and the rhetoric of war. Iraqi, Saudi and American officials reported to appointment President George Bush demanded Iraq leader Saddam Hussein and said that destroying the oil was "kind of act." Iraq, in a letter addressed to the UN Security Council, blamed the leaking of tankers for the slick and added: "This is not the first time that the United States has damaged the environment and injured men and women to serious injury." Saudi officials said that the oil spillage started on Jan. 28. Iraq's new administration, a major incident, began to spill 10 miles off Al-Ahmed, south of Kuwait City. In Washington, Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said that oil had also been spilled from five Iraqi tankers anchored near the terminal. Williams said U.S. estimates

that the slick was at least a dozen times larger than that caused by the Exxon Valdez tanker spill, which spilled about 200,000 barrels of crude oil into Alaska's Prince William Sound in March, 1989. The next day he doubled that estimate to six million barrels, and the White House assigned a team of experts to the Gulf to help contain the pollution.

Other experts said that the spillage by



Oil-covered cormorant on Saudi coast: 'grave problem'

Acid rainwater were placing boats to wind off the oil, and they may also draw water from deeper levels to avoid it. As a result, he said, it is expected that these plants will not be affected. Still, Al-Ahmed added: "We are facing a grave and tragic environmental problem."

The spill led to denunciations of Hussein by Western officials. In Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark and there were no bounds as to what Hussein would do. "We've seen that in his treatment of the people who he should be Kuwait," said Clark. "Now it's clear he is prepared to make the environment, too, a hostage and a casualty in this war."

In the coastal area of Saudi Arabia, immediately south of Kuwait, there was ugly evidence of the spill. Although Saudi officials said that Gulf countries appeared to be keeping most of the slick away from the coast, some beaches were loaded and shorebirds, including cormorants, were coated with oil. Al-Ahmed said that prolonged spills "might affect the whole life-supporting system in the whole Gulf."

Focus: The oil pollution followed earlier environmental hazards from fires in Kuwaiti oilfields that spread across Saudi Arabia. Although it was not clear how those fires started, environmental experts painted a bleak picture of the possible consequences of Hussein made good as he said. (See story on Kuwaiti oilfields on p. 10.) Robert Fennell, a spokesman for Toronto-based Greenpeace Canada, said that the fire wells burning last week would probably not cause long-term environmental damage. But several experts said that cormorants would be killed and millions of tons of smoke into the atmosphere, reducing temperatures and possibly adversely affecting the summer monsoon rains

in parts of Asia—resulting in crop failures and food shortages.

Cleaning up the Gulf oil spill, analysts said, will be extremely difficult. Some say, Al-Ahmed's top oil cleanup official, said that Middle East crude is lighter and less sticky than the oil that was spilled by the Exxon Valdez. But he added that it's always an understatement of the Gulf, the task will be extremely complicated by the war that is raging in the troubled region.

NORA UNDERWOOD was ANDREW PHILLIPS in Ottawa



PREPARING A GROUND BATTLE

THE ALLIES PLAN A NEW ATTACK

In a Gulf land war, U.S.-led combat troops in Saudi Arabia confronting Iraqi positions in Kuwait would likely face heavy artillery fire from designated-U.S.-Canada heavy howitzers. According to several independent military analysts, the Iraqis acquired the potent weapons from South Africa and Australia in exchange for their more degraded Canadian tanks during the early 1970s by Canadian soldiers expert General Bull, who was shot to death outside his Brussels apartment last March by unknown assailants. Military analysts contend that Iraq howitzers based on British GC-45 (the article titled the Gun General) have far greater range and accuracy than similar weapons at the arsenal of the coalition forces.

Produced from MacDonald, a Toronto-based management consultant and former Canadian Forces reserve officer. "The Canadians gun is going to cause a lot of grief to the allied forces."

The powerful howitzer, which fires 125-mm shells containing 95 lb of explosives, is used as weapons in the vast and arid expanses of the Iraqi and the opposing coalition of land and airborne soldiers and marines, the bulk of them American. Most analysts predict that during a land battle, both sides will employ combined-artillery tactics, along with thousands of tanks, gun-ship aircraft—and some of the most advanced computer-aided weaponry available.

Both American and British land forces rely heavily on new battle tanks, some of them capable of traveling at speeds up to 85 km/h and equipped with computer-aided firing systems. U.S. main battle tanks, including the formidable M-1A1 Abrams, which can fire laser-guided anti-tank missiles, would support the ground troops. Some of the coalition forces also possess night-vision devices that permit helicopter pilots, tank operators and foot soldiers to detect and fire on Iraqi intruders in the dark. All coalition coalition has a total of about 675,000 men and women in the Persian Gulf, but only about 490,000 of them are ground combat troops. The remainder are naval, air force and support personnel.

Despite the aggressive nature of its weaponry, military experts note that the coalition forces' technological superiority may provide only a marginal advantage over the Iraqis. They said that would could clog the engines of tanks on

both sides of the war, and said that could reduce the effectiveness of computer and inter-guided weapons. The opposite problem—water mud—has already impeded coalition tanks and other vehicles trying to move toward the Kuwait border. As well, coalition ground forces lack the 30-1 advantage that is often said to be necessary to overcome Iraqi defenses. To offset that disadvantage, many analysts contend, the success of an allied land assault would depend on the effectiveness of the current day bombing of Iraqi positions inside Kuwait. If the bombing fails to inflict serious damage on Iraqi equipment and weapons, the coalition forces could face a long, grinding war—with high casualties.

According to most observers, the allied skirmishes in the land battle would likely involve artillery duels, and the Iraqis may have an advantage because of their Canadian-designed, weaponry. MacDonald said that the Iraqis will probably only use artillery fire to harass coalition ground forces. John Thompson, managing director of the Toronto-based Macdonald Institute, a nonprofit research organization that studies regional conflict, said that while some Iraq howitzers can hurl shells up to 25 miles, similar allied weapons have a maximum range of only 15 miles.

Howitzer: Independent military analysts argue that the Iraqis possess the best artillery in the world. They also contend that this weaponry should have been developed for the Canadian Forces' Washington-based. Macdonald Consulting Editor William Lawford, whose biography of Bull, Army and the West, will be published this spring by Doubleday Canada Ltd., said that Bull designed an improved artillery shell and gun at his plant in Highwater, Que., during the 1970s. His line was charged with dignity adding the technology in the South African government and created in 1984 under the U.S. Munitions Control Act. After spending four months in U.S. custody, he moved to Belgium. From there, Bull sold an earlier version of the gun to an Australian manufacturer, Lawford said. Both the Australian and the South African sold the howitzer to Iraq. Abdel Lawford, "Bull's son," said he showed the Iraqis how to use the gun to capture, he went to Ottawa, but nobody was interested. "The main is

IRAQ
COMBAT TROOPS: 540,000
WEAPONS
Battle tanks 4,100
Artillery pieces 3,100
Helicopters 75
Aircraft 700



The coalition forces can respond to Iraq's artillery fire with potent weapons systems of their own. The Macdonald Institute's Thompson said that the Iraqis will need the position of their artillery the moment they fire. The coalition forces can then use a tank-mounted anti-aircraft missile system (MIM-104) to shoot down any Iraqi aircraft. They also can respond with British or American multiple-launch rocket systems (MLRS), which have no need to be in contact before the main is

transported to a tracked vehicle and fired from the ground. Martin Stadel, a research associate with the Toronto-based Center for International and Strategic Studies, said that in 60 seconds, the MLRS can fire 12 rockets, each of them carrying a 250-lb. explosive warhead. Stadel said that during a land battle, these support aircraft may drop deadly cluster bombs on enemy artillery battalions. He said that the 12 rockets fired as MLRS can be loaded with

cluster bombs containing 5,000 explosive elements, each the size of a hand grenade. Stadel added that cluster rockets can saturate an area the size of six football fields with projectiles capable of paralyzing infantry. Stadel said, "It's a pretty easy little device. Troops caught in the open would be in big trouble." The coalition will also be relying on close air support to reinforce its ground forces. American Cobra and Apache attack helicopters can

be used in a number of tactical roles, including attacks on Iraqi tanks and armored vehicles. The Apaches, which are armed in combat, come equipped with weapons systems that include laser-guided Hellfire missiles. Explaining the Hellfire's operation, Thompson said that when a laser beam strikes a metal object, such as a tank or armored vehicle, a reflection bounces back. When the Hellfire fires a missile, its guidance system directs it along the reflected beam to the target, at within 100 yards.

Another key weapon in the coalition arsenal is the A-106 Thunderbolt aircraft, which is designed as a tank destroyer. Nicknamed the "Warthog," the A-106 is equipped with guided missiles and a powerful Gatling gun—a seven-barreled revolving cannon capable of firing 70 rounds of armor-piercing bullets a second.

Although the allied claim to have established air superiority, some military analysts warned that the coalition forces may not be able to strike at will. Coalition helicopters and such aircraft as the Warthog are most effective at low altitudes, which will draw them within striking distance of Iraqi anti-aircraft guns and missiles. Jon S. Sauer, a Washington Area author of a recent British publication, published a special issue on Iraq last October and concluded, "Iraq is well equipped with air-defense systems, mostly of Soviet origin. Some have been improved by the Iraqi themselves."

Coalition: The closing stages of a land campaign would likely involve a tank duel. The Iraqis have a fleet of 4,100 battle tanks, while the coalition forces have just under 3,400. Most analysts say that the Iraqis and allied tanks possess roughly equal capabilities. The most up-to-date Iraqi tank is the Soviet-built T-72, a speedy 60 km/h, well-armed vehicle with a 125-mm gun capable of firing a relatively rapid eight rounds a minute. The Iraqis may also have 500 T-72s. Military experts estimate that they could have a tank force consisting of Soviet-built T-72 tanks, which are based on a 40-year-old design, according to Jon S. Sauer. The Iraqis have added newer, larger guns and upgraded the tanks' armor.

The U.S. army uses its M1A1 Abrams tank, the most powerful in the world, but it has no combat experience. The turbine-powered Abrams, which travels at speeds of up to 85 km/h, has a 120-mm gun that can fire six rounds per minute. The 30-lb. projectiles have a flat-shaped nose designed to penetrate armor and shatter the armor with pieces of molten metal. Most of the coalition forces' tanks are equipped with low-level-light television cameras that enable crews to see their enemies at night. They also have image amplifiers that can detect an enemy tank's position based on the heat it produces. These devices should allow the allied tanks to operate effectively against hidden targets, or to sink out Iraqi tanks at night. But, many analysts warn that the coalition troops and their high-tech weapons have not extracted enemy forces—and, beyond them, Iraqi elite Republican Guard.

AFTER THE AIR WAR

THE GROUND FORCES PREPARE FOR BATTLE

Like tens of thousands of other Americans, the men of the U.S. Army's 80th Airborne Group were moving north last week. From a base in the black desert landscape of eastern Saudi Arabia, their vehicles joined the longwinded convoys of trucks and tanks crawling closer to the border with Kuwait—and in a direct confrontation with the massive ground forces of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. As they prepared to move out, Maj. T. J. Timmons, a 41-year-old New Mexico, reflected on Hussein's lack of restraint in mobilizing warplanes instead of to punish Iraq and occupied Kuwait. "What I'm worried about is that Saddam will do the old rope-drops," said Timmons, referring to the hang-back boxing style that veteran heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali occasionally used. "He'll take the punches, lose back, and then let us when we come in."

Roads: That may yet be Iraq's strategy, but there was no sign last week that Hussein was about to curb all the ropes and assault his enemies. Instead of coordinating the allied planes that flew an average of 3,000 missions each day against his facilities and forces, Iraqi jets usually turned tail and sought sanctuary in overseas hideouts in the northern part of the country. By midweek, American commanders in Saudi Arabia claimed, with apparent confidence, to have achieved superiority in the skies over Iraq and Kuwait. At the same time, they sent out clear signals that they were in no hurry to launch coalition ground forces against Iraq's defensive line along the Kuwaiti border. Before the outbreak of war in the early hours of Jan. 17, last week, allied planners had spoken of as a swift lasting several days, followed by a confused period of attrition against Iraqi troops. Last week, however, senior U.S. officers said that the air campaign could extend until at least early February and possibly longer, in order to reduce Iraq's defenses further before a bloody ground offensive.

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, even spoke in Washington of

launching a ground assault "if necessary," implying that the coalition might achieve its goals without a major land campaign. But most experts say that they consider that prospect unlikely. And U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney added: "If we do have to use our ground forces to push him out of Kuwait, it will be after we've done enormous damage to his ground forces." Iraq's only substantive response to the air attacks was more political than military: launching a total of more than 30 Scud missiles at Saudi Arabia and Israel in an apparent attempt to terrify the populations and provoke the Jewish state into retaliating, possibly undermining the Western Arab coalition against Baghdad.



U.S. Patriot missile: defending against Iraqi Scud attacks



In fact, the response of the Iraqi air force was so excited that some U.S. fighter pilots voiced frustration that they had nothing to shoot at. Lt. Col. Jeffrey Brown, the executive officer of an F-15C air-to-air fighter squadron, told reporters at an airbase in central Saudi Arabia that Iraqi pilots turned and headed north whenever they came within 20 miles of U.S. planes. "We haven't been able to fire a shot in anger yet, because we haven't found anybody," said Brown. "It's terrible."

But even so, Iraq's strategy appeared glaring, that of the coalition was clear. Allied commanders, as they repeatedly warned in the weeks leading up to the war, hit key targets in Iraq with an overwhelming display of high-tech air power. Their arsenal included an astonishing array of weapons, ranging from cruise missiles F-117A, Stealth fighters—eight predators almost available to strike—to massive B-52G bombers, upgraded versions of craft that first flew in the mid-1950s. Among other things, the campaign was aimed at severing communications between the 150,000-man Republican Guard, Hussein's toughest and best equipped soldiers, and their top commanders in Baghdad, while also destroying their railways, food and ammunition supplies. "Our strategy to position this army is very, very simple," Powell said in a frank statement of American aims. "First we're going to cut it off, then we're going to kill it."

Damage: U.S. commanders claimed qualified success last week against all of their targets, but they offered little public proof. Usually heavy clouds over Kuwait and much of Iraq's 170,000 square miles hindered coalition forces in conducting what they call "MIA," or bomb damage assessment, which is based largely on intercepting pilots' reports and aerial photographs of enemy targets after bombs or missiles have hit them. Assessment experts look for hard evidence that the target has



What kind of future will we leave to our children?
For here, in this same picnic clearing, I, too,
played as a child.



Now, surrounded by the trees of my youth,
I wondered if our children, too, so full of spirit and
promise, would someday return with their children.
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If that argument hasn't convinced you to maximize your RRSP contributions, this one should: the government can't afford to support you ever you are working. Already plans like Old Age Security, Canada Pension Plan and Quebec Pension Plan can provide only 30-40 per cent of what the average Canadian needs to retire in comfort.

Indeed, the government wants you to fund your own retirement so badly that it's allowing you to carry-forward unused contributions for up to seven years starting in 1991. In our increasing number of firms are paying retirement for individual employees' funds, too. Group RRSPs are good "alternatives in the administrative and communications" lightness that traditional pension plans have become," points out Elizabeth Turk, vice president of group benefits at AGF Management Ltd.

All of which means that your RRSP should be a major financial priority. As Laurie Munn, vice president of marketing, Macleod Financial Corporation, points out, "under you will aggressive RRSP action, you will not be able to retire in financial dignity. That's the key issue."

How to come up with the money

Here's a trio of techniques to help you make your contribution even if you're cash-poor:

1. BORROW

Even though RRSP loans aren't tax-deductible anymore, they still pay off. If, for example, you're in the 40 per cent tax bracket, borrow \$1,000 at 15 per cent to put into your RRSP and invest the money at

2. TRANSFER

OTHER ASSETS IN

Assets are eligible for RRSPs. If your RRSP limit is \$7,500, for instance, and you've got \$7,500 worth of personal GICs or equities, you can transfer those securities into your self-directed RRSP as your contribution and get the full \$7,500 tax deduction. "The investments you have in your outside account are valued at their fair market value on the day you contribute them," explains accountant and investor Don Nilson, head of Nilson &

Maxim Wlodarczyk, investment counsellor and president of Long Wind Investment Counsel Ltd. in Winnipeg

1 in one million of people who can successfully forecast the future 100 per cent of the time, and that includes scenarios in which the recession will end or when tax changes are down the road. Consider the following factors to provide your RRSP with your optimal retirement value:

1. Your need for liquidity
2. Your after-tax income needs, including cash requirements from income-bearing securities
3. Your risk tolerance: how much short-term fluctuation in your portfolio value you can tolerate
4. The time period you are prepared to invest your money for
5. The safety of your principal: your ability to tolerate fluctuations in the capital base of your portfolio
6. Your growth requirement: how much growth do you need to maintain your lifestyle during retirement years after taxes and inflation have taken their toll?



11 per cent, the cost of the loan would be \$190. But you could apply your \$400 tax refund against your loan, and you'd owe \$110 interest inside your RRSP. You'd still be ahead. \$190, and the \$1,000 would still be working for you inside your RRSP. It's essential, though, to repay the loan within a year. Most financial institutions offer one-year RRSP loans, and some even offer professional rates.

Company in Vancouver. You'll have to pay tax on any capital gain if you've already used up your exemption, but you won't be able to write off any losses. You can also get a tax deduction for the value of a mutual fund or security that's down temporarily by selling it into your self-directed RRSP. Don't do this technique before on you. "I would not suggest you keep putting debt into your RRSP," points out Ron Balcer, group manager, personal banking, responsible for deposits

It can carry
your **entire 1991** contribution forward for up to seven years

product at The Toronto Dominion Bank. "You might get immediate tax relief, but you're foregoing the growth of your RRSP year after year, and you'll have a portfolio of dogs when you retire."

3. MAKE MONTHLY PAYMENTS

Adopt a "pay yourself first" approach, suggests Maria Mackenzie, Financial Corp. Arranger for \$200-\$300 — whatever you can afford — to go into your RRSP via a monthly pre-authorized chequing program. This strategy, which is called dollar cost averaging when you're buying units in an equity-based mutual fund, eliminates the need to predict which way the market is heading. If you buy units all the way down to \$100, for example, your fund will be holding some shares worth \$10 for which it paid as little as \$2. Even if the market ends up where it started, you'll make money. Says Philip Armstrong, senior vice-president at Mackenzie Investment Services, "You'll do all right as long as you have the patience to stay with it."

A dozen strategies to maximize your RRSP

1. **START EARLY** They don't call compound interest magic for nothing. The longer your RRSP has to grow, the more money it can multiply. If you started contributing \$2,000 per year into your RRSP when you were 15, for example, and only contributed for eight years, you'd have \$341,000 waiting for you by age 65, assuming a return of 10 per cent annual interest.

Don't wait until the final deadline to invest, either

later, or Ed Wood, Royal Bank's national manager for RRSPs, explains, you'll earn an extra total \$243,000 over 35 years if you make an annual \$7,500 RRSP contribution at the beginning of the tax year instead of the end.

2. INVEST SOMETHING

"Make your 1990 contribution even if it means foregoing your 1991 contribution," suggests Paul Delaney, financial adviser at T. Delaney Inc. and co-author of *The Delaney Report on RRSPs*. "You can carry your unused 1990 contribution forward into up to seven years."

5. **DIVERSIFY** A mix of debt instruments as well as long and short-term growth investments will protect you over the long term.

Review your portfolio at least annually to ensure it's maintaining the mix you want. If stock prices continue to fall, for example, "your equities might move from the desired 50 per cent down to 30 per cent of your portfolio," points out Peter Volpe, president of the Canadian Association of Financial Planners. "To maintain that 50 per cent, I'd suggest you add 20 per cent more equities. Eventually, once your stocks rise off the strategy would be to sell off some of them. This ensures that you're buying when stocks are falling and selling when stocks are rising."

4. PUT YOUR RRSP IN CONTEXT

If you're got enough money to build an investment portfolio as well as your RRSP, keep your capital gains and dividends outside your RRSP, where you can enjoy their tax advantages, and put income-yielding investments, which are fully taxable, inside your RRSP. The rest of us should concentrate on pro-

tecting the best possible return. As Paul Rickett, president of Royal Capital Markets Ltd. says, "The only thing that matters is how many dollars you have at the end of the run."

Speculative stocks are not a good idea because you can only write off losses if they're inside your plan. "A 50 per cent loss in speculative stock inside an RRSP requires a 100 per cent gain to get back to where you started," advises Paul Ross, president of Marathon Bankings.

6. CONSIDER THE FINE OF YOUR LIFE

If your employment is unstable, "it could be just as bad for you as investing in a five-year GIC as in a speculative stock," advises Rod Martin, managing partner, personal financial planning at Royal Trust. "Money market funds or savings deposits might be your best choice. I don't think it's worth the gamble to trade off a per cent or two high or low over the next year against the ability you might need to get your money out of your fund."

As you approach retirement, start switching away from growth vehicles and towards more fixed-income or cash alternatives.

6. USE RRSPs TO INCREASE SPEED

To minimize your spouse's retirement, aim to make your spouse's retirement income equal to yours. (The definition of spouse has been changed in the Income Tax Act to include common-law spouses.) You are entitled to put half amount of your RRSP contribution based on earned income into a spousal RRSP. Therefore, if you are employed while your spouse is not, buy a spousal RRSP. Likewise, if you've got retired income and are over 71 while your spouse is under 71, consider to make

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spouse's contributions. You get the deduction and he or she gets the money accumulating for retirement.

Remember, though, that if you contribute to a spousal plan and your spouse makes a withdrawal from it within three years (which includes the year of your contribution), the withdrawal will be treated as your income and be taxable in your hands.

You are entitled to roll up to \$5,000 of escape from your pension plan as a DPSP into a spousal RRSP until 1994, as until December 31 of the year in which your spouse turns 71, whichever comes first. So if

you're both retiring persons, you'll each still be entitled to make a \$5,000 RRSP contribution if you put the money into each other's plan, says Nelson. "There's also an out of your own RRSP plan and coordinate it from a spousal plan if you can't afford to make that contribution from your pension income," he adds. "That strategy was a yield away tax deduction. But a trap: achieve the longer-term goal of income-splitting upon retirement."

ANOTHER INTERESTING MENUS. Until 1990, you could pay up to \$5,500 into your RRSP even if you were a member of a pension plan and received to a \$5,500 deductible contribution. Once contributions were no longer deductible, but as long as the total amount contributed didn't exceed \$5,500, they weren't penalized either. Starting in 1991, though, excess contributions to your RRSP are subject to a penalty of 1 per cent per month for any amounts that exceed your personal limit, effective the date of the over-contribution. You see,

however, allowed a considerable lifetime penalty-free \$5,000 over-contribution as of the 1981 tax year. Delaney therefore suggests you consider over-contributing by this amount each year. "You would put that \$5,000 towards the \$13,500 contribution you'll be allowed in 1992, and it will grow tax-free for an extra year," he says.

B. NAME A BENEFICIARY. If you spouse is entitled to roll it tax-free into his or her own

Mutual of Mackenzie Financial suggests you consider your holdings for either retooling or keeping. When you are ultimately required to cash in all RRSPs, it will be more economical as well as administratively easier to have everything in one place.

10. PENSIONERS' PLANS FOR ENLARGED TAXES. Though you're still permitted to pay missing allowances directly into your RRSP, other pensions, including your spouse's,

From: Stewart, president of Fisco Investment Management Corp. in Toronto



Investment opportunities

Canadian and real estate. We have \$14,000 per month, income and debt in the bank. We put our money into savings and shopping accounts and GICs, none of which is principal, and don't care much about yield. But if we want to start looking after our retirement, we have to start becoming serious about it. And money market funds are the ideal way to do it. You'll start getting financial statements from the fund company that help you discuss your plan about the investment business. And you can learn that your principal can remain intact, but earn 12 per cent instead of the 6-8 per cent you were earning in savings accounts. That will encourage you to investigate other

RRSP. If you want your RRSP to go to maximize that, naming that individual as a beneficiary would mean your RRSP wouldn't have to go through your estate, which would enable your heir to avoid probate charges on it.

9. KEEP IT SIMPLE. Once your RRSP has grown to \$20,000, consider a self-directed plan, suggests Nelson. "You'll have one account where you can still diversify. Administrative fees average around \$700 per year (some are as little as \$55, but have a enormous range of available services), minus one random large administrative charge if you're over 65. If you put your administrative fee outside your RRSP, it's undeductible.

positions, your pension from work and annuity pensions, as largely qualify. "If you've been paying tax on investments based on last year's tax, when you had a large rollover," notes Nelson, "remember that that money will be coming directly into your hands now."

11. KEEP COVERS LOW. Self-directed investments, load costs and switching costs can "bleed money out of your RRSP," warns financial writer and broadcaster Gordon Page. "And once the money goes out, it can never be replaced."

Saves costs and switching costs can "bleed money out of your RRSP," warns financial writer and broadcaster Gordon

Page. "And once the money goes out, it can never be replaced."

many self-directed plan administrators, don't charge additional transaction fees for switching from one fund to another, apart from any switching fees that may be charged by the fund company itself. And the decision to they offer on commissions can really add up inside a six dollars. "If you were buying 900 shares of stock priced at \$9 and did a 100 order a year," explains Marchant Brokerage's Paul Bazo, "over 25 years, the value of your savings in commissions alone would be worth \$126,080."

12. DO YOUR HOMEWORK. Read financial journals and consult a variety of professionals. If you don't feel comfortable in your financial situation, or don't understand how your investment appears, or can't read the financial statements, you won't be able to manage your portfolio properly.

Making the right investments now

"People are starting up, starting to look at their investments a lot more closely," says Marchant Brokerage president Paul Bazo. Here's some advice to help you along the way.

FAVORITE FRIENDS

Because a family of funds can enable you to transfer between a selection of investments as market conditions dictate, "anybody who has over \$5,000 in an RRSP or other long-term investment," says Morris of Royal Trust, "should be diversified throughout it. As long as the family has access to direct to four mutual funds and maybe one cash vehicle, you'll get the benefits of portfolio management to provide protection from

all the sectors." Furthermore, you won't be getting conflicting advice from different people about your money, and your investment will continue to look familiar.

Investigate how the fund family is doing before you buy any specific fund, advises Page, so you don't find yourself marching away from the top board fund in the field to the bottom equity fund. And make sure you understand the costs. Some

of the best managers

EQUITY EQUITY
RIVER VALLEY FUNDS
THE INSURANCE CO.
RICHARD J. JONES

"Seems an use of the few Canadian that people want to buy when they go up and sell when they go down," comments Alexander's Armstrong. "It should be the other way around." Our money goes

WHAT CANADIANS PUT INTO THEIR RRSPs:

	1980	1989
Savings accounts	27%	6%
GICs	61%	69%
Self-directed plans	9%	15%
Mutual funds	13%	10%

Source: Marchant Brokerage

fund families limit the number of switches you can make per year or charge transaction fees to transfer among them. You might have to pay the full commission to get into each fund and/or a back-end load to get out. An Atlantic's Armstrong points out, "when you could earn 20-30 per cent on the market, no one thought too much about a 2 1/2 per cent front-end charge or a 2 per cent switching charge. But today, when returns are very hard to come by, you don't want to pay more than you have to."

Some professionals suggest that you diversify across among funds. Royal Capital's Rochel for instance, thinks you should "spread your assets among a minimum of five different investment managers. If you could roll me in who is going to be the low manager over the next 10 years, his funds would be the only thing we'd sell. But I'd like my manager to have a piece of

through cycles and will eventually rebound. As Wayne Wilkes, senior vice-president of marketing, Investors Group Inc. in Winnipeg, reminds us, "anyone who buys quality through a period when the market is undervalued makes long-term gains in the long run."

Gordon Page, for instance, suggests you take advantage of the bargain out there now, and not let your equity weighting sink below 20 per cent. "The biggest growth in the value of equity funds takes place in the years following a recession," he points out.

The segmented funds sold by life insurance companies do offer more insurance than your capital will receive there. All more guarantee that after 10 years or upon your death you will get back at least 75 per cent of what you own there, and some guarantee that upon your death you'll get back 100 per cent. Many of these funds are

top preference. And, like other life insurance choices, they're *crisis-free*.

Individual stocks as an RRSP are only for those who have enough money to buy 15-25 different stocks in a variety of market sectors as well as the time to manage them all.

REAL ESTATE MUTUAL FUNDS

These funds are evaluated according to market appraisals, which may not reflect the actual price that the properties would go if they were sold. And most require at least 30 days' notice before you can cash them in. In any case, "I'd proceed gingerly," warns Stephen Browne, senior vice-president and chief investment officer for the Bank of Montreal Investment Management Ltd. "It will take this sector a while to bounce back given where money rates are locked."

They might best be held outside an RRSP. "A very large component of the income from such funds is tax-sheltered," points out Page. "If you hold them in an RRSP, you'll lose that benefit."

FOREIGN STOCK FUNDS

Current tax proposals will permit you to invest up to 12 per cent of your self-employed RRSP in foreign investment property for the 1990 tax year, and up to 20 per cent by 1994. "Take advantage of the increasing foreign currency situation," says Marica of Mackenzie. "International investing offers fabulous growth opportunities and can build greater stability through diversification."

BOND FUNDS

Bonds held with money provide a guaranteed rate of

return. Corporate and government bonds and bond funds traditionally do well in downturns, because short-term interest rates go down, which makes the value of bonds go up. Although a flattening therefore suggests you move into bonds as "prices" yourself if short-term rates come down. Replace some of the cash component of your portfolio with a bond fund invested in quality short- to medium-term bonds. "They may not be suitable if you're

greater safety of principal and stream of income you would typically find in fixed-income funds."

That could be bad news for you if your comfort zone differs from those of the fund managers. Find out the criteria the fund managers use in determining its weighting. Do they stick within specified guidelines you agree with? How frequently do they switch? If the managers maintain complete flexibility, suggests Page, find out if they

THE CHANGING TYPES OF SECURITIES CANADIANS HAVE BEEN INVESTING IN (MARKET SHARE COMPARISON - TOTAL SALES BY FUND TYPE):

	1983	At Sept. 30, 1989
Guaranteed funds	N/A	8.2%
Canadian equity funds	42.8%	11.8%
Foreign equity funds	28.9%	7.6%
Bond and income funds	18.7%	10.0%
Mortgage funds	6.7%	4.0%
Money market funds	4.4%	64.5%
Real property funds	N/A	1.2%
Other	N/A	2.7%

(Source: Fidelity Investment Management Corp. from data supplied by the Investment Fidelity Institute of Canada)

close to retirement, though, warns Browne. "Bonds will provide better income than GICs or savings accounts over a long period of time," he thinks. "But if you buy them in your late 60s and we get hit with an outbreak of inflation that drives up interest rates and causes big capital losses in your bond fund, you'll be one unhappy camper."

BALANCED FUNDS

Balanced funds contain a mix of equities, bonds and cash. So the fund manager will worry about the mix as well as for you. You get "some of the prospects for growth typically associated with equities," explains Bob Gowerman, director, personal investment management of TD Securities Inc. "As well as the

"were prudent enough to lighten up on their equity holdings and go into cash and fixed income by early 1990. That would be an indication that they were limiting the risk to an extent, which is what these funds are supposed to be all about."

GUARANTEED INVESTMENT CERTIFICATES (GICs) PROVIDING THE INSURANCE PREMIUMS

We Canadians have traditionally found the guaranteed returns offered by banks, trust companies and insurance companies as appealing that we invest 60-65 per cent of our RRSP dollars in them, according to statistics compiled by Towers-Dunnison. (A deferred

Is this the only return you think about when you buy an RRSP?

Most of us know all about RRSP tax savings. But sometimes we tend to overlook the long-term benefits that can be realized from a well-managed RRSP.

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passive plan (RPP) or deferred profit-sharing plan (DPSP). For those who do belong to an RPP, the limit is \$3,500 minus your personal contributions to it, while DPSP subscribers are limited to a flat \$3,500 RPPSP contribution.

In 1991, the limit will be 18 per cent of your previous year's earned income, up to a maximum of \$11,500, and will then rise by \$1,000 per year until they reach \$15,500 in 1995. You will be forced to carry forward your RPPSP limit for up to seven years. The latter provision will provide "some interesting opportunities," thinks Nelson. "Because you will be entitled to more deductions from one year into the next to maximize your tax break." If you have \$5,000 of eligibility in 1991, for example, but expect your income to go up substantially in 1992, you can make your entire 1991 and 1992 contribution in 1992 and claim the full deduction against 1992's income.

Most people should continue to maximize their RPPSP contributions annually "if you continue to carry your contribution forward," points out Page. "You may find after four or five years you have \$30,000 in unused contribution room. What are you going to do then — borrow \$30,000? Not likely."

Unfortunately, because your RPPSP eligibility for both 1990 and 1991 is calculated from your 1989 income, this does mean those who had low income in 1990 will have low RPPSP eligibilities for both 1990 and 1991, even if their income rose substantially in 1990.

Pension plan members must wait until their employers reduce their pension adjustment on their 1990 T-4 slip to find out what their RPPSP eligibility will be. Revenue Canada will mail out a final notice of their annual RPPSP contribution limit

later on that year.

CONSIDER THIS

Because you have to add RPPSP withdrawals to other sources of income in the year you make the withdrawal and pay the tax on them as income, "it's very expensive to cash in your RPPSP prior to maturity," reminds Valpey.

Nevertheless, if you're planning to take a year off work, or are in a cash crunch with no other source of money, then tax is minimal when you withdraw RPPSP funds because you'll have little or no other income that year. You will have to pay 10 per cent withholding tax on the first \$5,000 you take out, then 20 per cent on the next \$5,000-\$15,000 and, finally, 30 per cent on any amount after that. If, for instance, you need \$20,000, you'll pay a lot less withholding tax if you make four withdrawals of \$5,000 each than if you withdraw the full \$20,000 at once.

When you turn 65, cash in enough of your RPPSP to ensure you're getting the \$1,000 of tax-free pension income you're entitled to. Because much income comes from a company pension plan or from private RRSP or RRIF withdrawals, Nelson usually suggests you purchase an annuity that is large enough to generate \$1,000 per year from your RPPSP. However, he points out, "a peculiarity in tax law allows a life insurance company to issue a term deposit with non-deductible funds whose interest qualifies for the \$1,000 feeble."

It would therefore be prudent to invest instead in such a term deposit at age 65 and leave your RPPSP alone until age 71. "If your spouse has an RRSP," purchase such a term deposit or an annuity contract with one-third funds to provide \$1,000

income to his or her family.

Finally, Paul Rochet, president of Royal Capital Planners, thanks sophisticated investors can do register their RPPSP funds a few years before age 71 with little or no tax liability. For instance, if you have \$50,000 in your RPPSP with five years to go to retirement, you would take out a personal loan of \$100,000 from the bank. Assuming your loan is at 12 per cent, you would withdraw the \$100,000 per year you need to pay it off from your RPPSP for the next five years. If you've used up your \$100,000 capital gains tax exemption, your net RRSP withdrawal would be tax-deductible because you're using the money to pay off an investment loan. (If you haven't used up your capital gains tax exemption, then the CNIB — cumulative net investment loss — rules apply and the benefits aren't as great.) Within five years, you'll have depleted your RPPSP on loan requirements, be able to see the growth in your personal investments to repay the balance of the loan and have all your assets in your own hands. The biggest problem, he admits, is that "by the time you reach the age to do it, the banks are hesitant to lend you the money."

Lowen's Syndicate's Wilton, does point out that for this strategy to be effective too, you have to be investing in equities for tax-free capital gain. In other words, now that you're accumulated all this money during your lifetime, you're going to call the dice and see if you have anything left.

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This supplement was written by Toronto freelance journalist Helen Kiehl.

been destroyed or incapacitated. If it has not, commanders order another strike to finish the job. Delays in making those assessments, they reported last week, meant that they could not say for sure just how much damage the allied combat missions had done.

com captured on Thursday in a raid of the Iraq Petroleum Gulf oilfield at Qurna, and that their reserves had been reduced to just one meal a day.

But Hussein seemed in no hurry to respond. He was apparently conserving resources, not



Armored personnel carriers bog down in the mud; heavy clouds hindered damage assessments.

But, there appeared little doubt that Iraq was taking a beating. According to allied reports, Hussein's army suffered between 30,000 and 40,000 casualties in the first two days of the war, an extremely low number for the more than 12,000 soldiers down. In another combat situation air forces reported that they shot down 15 Iraqi planes over that period, while the Iraq pilots were a mere, pending official confirmation of the fate of a missing allied plane. U.S. commanders claimed that they had destroyed Iraq's nuclear and chemical weapons plants, prevented Iraqi planes from using most of the country's airfields, and severely disrupted communication and supply lines to the 54,000 Iraqi ground forces in and around Kuwait. B-52 bombers targeted Iraqi troops dug in along the Saudi-Kuwait border and in northern Iraq, sending out a message that they thought that allied troops closer to Iraqi positions could easily hear. At week's end, U.S. officials claimed that they had some confidence that the assault was already affecting Iraqi troops. Many among a group of 51 Iraqi prisoners, when the Amer-

ican forces captured the Iraqi POWs, said that the American effort in the Persian Gulf was not as overwhelming as they had heard. The planes' repeated strikes on the north, which analysts say may number several hundred, were disrupted in the early 1980s by British and other Western companies. The analysts said that the western have used such sophisticated weapons as laser-guided missiles to all but make an attack.

Wreckage of Iraqi Scout missile in Riyadh spectacular explosion



in fact, diplomats and Iraqi expatriates told reporters in Cairo that over the past decade Hussein has built multi-story palaces and air raid shelters under numerous public and military buildings. They also said that alternatives among at least seven Baghdad hotels, all with nearly empty, mostly deserted floors. According to German press reports, one of them is a 1,000-room 175-metre complex in Baghdad that a West German company built in 1984. The 39,300-square-foot bunker, the architects said, includes French-style furniture and comes complete with a swimming pool, a basketball stadium and enough supplies for Hussein and 50 others to survive for a year.

Scenarios: Hunkering down, some experts said, is a key element of Hussein's strategy. A former Soviet diplomat with Middle East experience, Vladimir Sokolov, told reporters that Soviet advisors trained the Iraq army for 35 years and that traditional Soviet military strategy when faced with overwhelming odds is to conserve resources until the last minute and then counter-attack. Others suggested that the Iraqi president believes that the American effort in the Persian Gulf was not as overwhelming as they had heard. The western have used such sophisticated weapons as laser-guided missiles to all but make an attack.

Among the American troops moving north last week to take up positions close to the borders with Kuwait and Iraq, there was clearly no expectation for a quick overthrow. When war breaks out, the usual common reaction among soldiers who had endured desert conditions for as long as five months was jubilation. "It's a relief that they could now do their job and go home. By life last week, however, that sentiment had been replaced by a more sober assessment of the task ahead. Many soldiers downed camp that had been built since last fall, and drove away along clogged roads in convoys that at times stretched for 15 km. The most forward-placed shield troops moved to close to Iraqi positions that they could see the sun glinting off the sand.

sticks of the country's military vehicles.

But between the two positions is a formidable screen of sand barriers, trenches and minefields, which the allied troops call the "Saddam line." Casting ground forces, exactly where they are, the line would result in high casualties, are observing as the pilots who are pounding the Iraqis on the other side. Dropping the ordnance is an intensive reality, hostile soldiers pose about attacking an "intelligence" program to encourage the flyers to crash the Iraq positions. The vast response of the largely flat, featureless desert also adds to a sense of vulnerability. Last week, among a U.S. Marine force with the thousands of code name Task Force Raptor, several military leaders inadvertently admitted that they were content to stay on the sidelines of the air war for weeks if necessary. "When we go north," said 30-year-old sergeant David Kung, "I hope the air forces has worked out over so well I can just push the soldiers over with my hands."

Fire. Still, critics of the coalition strategy argue that air power alone cannot dislodge troops as deeply dug in as the Iraqis in southern Kuwait are believed to be. Thus, the ground-attack ordnance delivered by the U.S. B-52s may not destroy deep, concrete-reinforced bunkers unless they are direct hits. At the same time, the Iraqis' greatest strength and worst weakness comes forth with him in a status, defense warfare, and they enjoy a large advantage over their Western and Arab opponents in satellite power and other weapons have suited to a defensive stance. As a result, coalition planners maintain that any Iraqis at-



A Saudi pilot who shot down two Iraqi jets, smokes.

tempt to launch a surprise ground attack against their forward-based troops will only backfire. As soon as Iraqi tanks and soldiers leave their defensive positions, they argue, they will be exposed to devastating allied fire.

At the headquarters of the U.S. 59th Air Corps near the Iraqi border, strategists outlined expectations for the upcoming ground war. Lt. Col. Terry Bantam, 43, and that much of the American battle plan "is written on the premise that Saddam Hussein will have to

move to counter us. He is not vulnerable when he is in the rear." Baghdad commands a squadron of Apache helicopters, known as tank killers. The helicopters, equipped with sophisticated night sights and radar systems, can hit targets five miles away with laser-guided missiles. The Apaches are expected to make the first assaults on Iraq's powerful force of Soviet T-72 tanks.

Bullyboy. Keeping allied casualties down will be more difficult if U.S. commanders decide that they cannot have Iraqi forces out of their positions. If they then order an offensive, field commanders will rely on tactics derived from what Lt. Col. William Rouse, 40-year-old commander of a squadron of Cobra attack helicopters in the U.S. Army's 1st Cavalry Regiment, called "the old bullyboy concept—a whole battalion against a platoon. You destroy his personnel."

Still, Rouse is among many frontline commanders who say that they are carefully aware that no matter how great an advantage they enjoy over the Iraqis, any ground campaign, in open desert conditions and involving such a high concentration of troops and armor, is bound to be bloody.

"While I think the bombing campaign is really going to hurt them," he said, "I have said my guys very clearly: 'Don't think this is going to be a cakewalk where we walk into the country and they go and chase their hands up and surrender because we've bombarded them back to the Stone Age.' That was a sharp reminder of a hard reality despite all the allied aerial successes last week, the battle for Kuwait has only just begun."

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Doha

'Y'ALL HAVE A SCUDLESS DAY'

It was a few minutes before 5 p.m. in the kitchen of a hotel in the South Arabian town of Dhahran—time to prepare the evening meal for the next day's breakfast. There was one minor inconvenience, however: American Phoenix missiles had just intercepted two Iraqi Scud missiles over Dhahran's nearby oil fields, setting off a spectacular anti-air and anti-air show and sending everyone at the hotel scurrying to the basement kitchens for shelter, gas masks in hand. But that was not enough to stop the hotel's staff from preparing a breakfast past long enough to don hair bobby-cuffs, then calmly proceeded to roll out dough. After a week of apocalyptic Scud attacks, the people of Dhahran managed to adapt to a bizarre pattern of survival rituals.

and the sudden disruption of explosions in high-tech Patrons, causing sleepless nights in many Kuwaiti families, interrupted and destroyed the Iraqi missiles. Late Friday, however, the lethal pattern of the Scuds hit home: one of them crashed the Patriot defense system and destroyed an office building in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, killing four persons and injuring 30 others.

By week's end, Pentagon officials said that Iraq had launched at least two dozen of the old, hulking, Soviet-made Scuds at Dhahran and Riyadh. Most of them, the officials said, had been destroyed by Patriots, part of the defense system that picks up incoming target properties and launches missiles within an 81.5 million space in them. Some, however, got through. And when chunks of a Scud crashed into a deserted Dhahran street early one morning, tracing holes in the pavement and shattering small trees nearby, the remnants quickly became collector's items. By the next day,

merchants in the local market were selling small pieces of the Scud for the equivalent of about \$3.50.

The Patriot and the events marking the missile's destruction, victims of the early Scud campaign, rapidly became local heroes. A hotel adjacent to Dhahran's oil fields received the historical remains of a Patriot as a pedestal in its elegant lobby, right beside the mandatory portrait of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd. The U.S. armed forces' local collection, known as Shalal 187, dedicated songs to the Patriot crew, including the 1980 Queen hit song *Another One Bites the Dust*. Meanwhile, members of the Iraq missiles made their way into daily greetings. As a Dhahran housewife said during an American air force accident investigation, "I'll always have a Scudless day now" as he worked a business of victims through the main gates.

A. P.

Motor Trend's Car Of The Year Has Classic Written All Over It.

The 1991 Chevrolet Caprice Classic LTZ



Once a year the editors of Motor Trend magazine judge North America's best cars.

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A single car is voted Car Of The Year for outstanding overall qualities. In 1991 it's the Chevrolet Caprice Classic LTZ.

Remodeled for 1991, the V8 Caprice is a whole new family sedan.

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The Caprice LTZ, agreed the editors, gave the kind of drive "an owner will brag about to friends."

In a word, said Motor Trend, it is simply " terrific."

Drive it yourself and see if this isn't the car to make your year.



 Chevrolet Caprice



Syrian troops in front of their tanks seeking the mantle of Arab leadership

THE OUTLOOK AFTER THE WAR

THE 'NEW WORLD ORDER' IS AT STAKE

The objective of the huge US-led attack on Iraq is larger than the conflict in Kuwait, President George Bush told senior officials last week. "What was, and is, at stake," he declared in Washington, are the "prospects for peace in the post-Cold War era, the promise of a new world order." But as coalition weapons continued to pound Iraqi targets last week, one of the most pressing issues was if, in fact, a peaceful world order can emerge from the war. Many Western and Arab analysts say that no matter what the outcome of the struggle, the Middle East will be torn by turmoil for years to come. US Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has acknowledged that Washington has put more emphasis on planning war than on preparing for the eventual peace. "Everybody has been so busy dealing with the crisis of the moment," Cheney told the House armed services committee in December, "that there really hasn't been much effort put into longer-range issues."

That may yet create serious postwar problems. Analysts say that the impact of the war depends on how long it lasts, how much damage is inflicted on Iraq and whether Iraqi jets

the conflict. But it will almost certainly inflame anti-Western passions among millions of Arabs. Alport the conflict, a worldwide anti-Occident and even overtly anti-Semitic Arab response that have shaped themselves with the United States. To counter that possibility, Washington may have to address regional concerns voiced by Iraq President Saddam Hussein. Those include sharp disputes between rich and poor Arabs, as well as the Palestinian conflict.

That dispute is a key obstacle to Middle East peace. But after the attack on Iraq, Palestinian anger is directed by Iraq President Saddam Hussein. Their include sharp disputes between rich and poor Arabs, as well as the Palestinian conflict.

Based on interviews with many military and

diplomatic experts, Al-Jazeera assessed the postwar prospects for the participants in the region.

Iraq If Hussein stays, in fact, against the odds and fights the coalition to a stalemate, he could emerge as an Arab hero. His military power would be curtailed but he would gain strong influence in the Islamic world. If he offers a reasonable deal, however, his own people may revolt. Said Karsh, a Times columnist, editor of the *Pan-Arabist Middle East Defense News*. "The Iraqis will not forget his colossal error in bringing destruction upon their lands."

It is also possible that the coalition could try to overthrow Hussein. Since the Iraqis began firing Scud missiles at Israel and they apparently forced coalition allied pilots to make forced landings on television, Bush seems increasingly to have personalized the war. He has pledged not only to liberate Kuwait, as the United Nations mandated, but also to meet Hussein as a war criminal. As well, British Prime Minister John Major called the Iraq leader "cancer," adding, "Saddam's bubble may be... for, one, will not weep for him."

But the coalition will have difficulty finding an aggressive ally in Hussein. Kofi Annan, he became president in 1993, Iraq's Baghdad rejected systematically and even by international organizations. A loose coalition of armed groups, ranging from Communists to fundamentalists, has emerged since the crisis began on Aug. 2. But whether the group has any popular support, within Iraq remains unclear. And its members have said little about what it could actually help apart from the avowed purpose, the elimination of Hussein, has been achieved.

The Iraq dictator's overthrow could then provide a struggle between fundamentalism in the country. Secular pan-Arabic Baathists might compete for power with the would-be potentially powerful Islamic fundamentalist movement. There may also be friction among the 60 percent of the population that is Shiite Muslim and the 35 percent that is Sunni, and the minority Kurdish population in the north could renew its armed struggle for independence.

"That is the glue that has held a unitary Arab state, the vehicle of Arab unity in the eyes of the world," said a senior Arab security network. "If Iraq is broken apart, it is a paradoxism that the author goes to protect members of his family still in Iraq. He added, "Iraq would shatter into a thousand parts. It would be a disaster for the Arab world." To avoid a

breakdown, the Arab map has to remain in Iraq in perpetuity. US analysts have said that the Baath administration was to leave behind an Iraqi military machine powerful enough to counterbalance Iraq in order to contain its Islamic revolution. If the war does escalate beyond its original aims and leaves a power vacuum in Iraq, its neighbors will certainly want to become participants in the deal. Iraq and Turkey both have large Kurdish minorities, and any subsequent Kurdish separatism in Iraq could spill over into their countries. They also both have historical claims to Iraq territory. Turkey has revived Iraq's old Mosul province, and Iran has asserted historical parts of southern Iraq.

Although both Iran and Turkey have denied any intention of changing territory, they would certainly want to bring Iraq up to a new level of regional analysis. Last week, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati accused unnamed countries of plotting to destroy Iraq in order to prevent it from becoming a "powerful Islamic state." He added, "We will use all our potential to do this conspiracy."

Syria President Hafez al-Assad's Baath regime is a fierce opponent of the Iraq Baathists. And if Iraq is crippled, Syria will certainly try to claim the mantle of Arab leadership. That may not be acceptable to the coalition leaders. Syria has a record of human rights abuses, as its leader Hafez al-Assad's regime was responsible for more than 100,000 deaths in the city of Hama as part of a campaign to eradicate Islamic fundamentalism. In recent months, its military has used air demonstrations by Syria to suppress the Islamic war with Washington against a fellow Arab country. But after the war, he may seek to expand the mission by sponsoring an Arab drive to force the Israelis to negotiate with the Palestinians.

Syria has already won concessions for contributing 20,000 troops to the international anti-Hussein coalition. In October, Western nations granted its criticism of a Syrian attack on the Christian enclave in Beirut, which allowed Syria almost complete control over Lebanon. The Gulf states have also promised to send Assad about \$2

billion to help finance his war effort against Iraq. But Syria's military challenge King Hussein, who is a member of Jordan's indigenous Bedouin minority.

Even if King Hussein survives—and he has survived Palestinian challenges in the past—he will have to try to rescue a rapidly collapsing economy. Trade with Iraq and many other nations by Jordanians working in Kuwait before the conflict, were important sources of income for Jordan. And the king's support for Iraq has cost him the sympathy and financial support of other Gulf states. It may cost him even more. Said Shabari, a member of the Penn-based International Study and Research Center. "Hussein's strong leaning towards Iraq won't be forgiven in the highly volatile climate likely to prevail after Saddam goes down."

In the worst outcome for Jordan, the allies could force King Hussein to accept more of the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip than he wants. Such a solution would seriously threaten Jordan's desire to remain neutral, and sends its arms through Jordanians' anger in the process. King Hussein has threatened to attack Israel if that occurs. If Jordan is drawn into a wider war, King Hussein's last ally in the balance.

The Palestinians Washington has repeatedly rejected a mass expulsion of Palestinians from Jordan. And after the coalition withdrew the UN mandate by attacking Iraq, militant Arabs began to set up a government in Hebron, a city in the West Bank, calling for Israeli armed forces to leave occupied territories. The Israeli violently disarmed that linkage. They say that they accepted the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967 as a de facto war against Iraq. Arab anger and suspicion. Saddam Hussein's attack on Israel, the Palestinians have launched the Israeli endeavor not to make territorial concessions. Said Gordon Gers, senior research fellow at Tel Aviv University's Danin Center. "The Palestinians have the most angry slogan."

Other analysts express more optimism. Said Bernard Noz, director of the Ottawa-based Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. "The deep-down conviction that something will have to be done is universally accepted in the outside world." The Palestinians may have traditionally been the major challenge facing the Middle East. The outcome of the war against Iraq may strengthen efforts to resolve the challenge—or make it far more difficult to meet.

NAEVS NICHOLSON with **ANALYST BACKGROUND** in Washington and **PETER LEWIS** in Paris



PLD leader Yasser Arafat pressing for Israeli withdrawal

Jordan Shock waves from Operation Desert Storm are also reverberating across Jordan. The Palestinian leadership sees this 60-percent Palestinian, and an overwhelming majority of them support Saddam Hussein's brutal of Israel and the United States. King Hussein, who has long maintained friendly relations with the West, has responded by tacitly supporting Iraq. But if the Gulf war

King Hussein (left), Assad: a delicate balance of power



BEHIND THE IRAQI LINES

CANADIAN PILOTS FLY INTO BATTLE

It was just after 8 a.m. last Thursday, the eighth day of Operation Desert Storm, when Canada became fully involved in the Persian Gulf war. Four CF-18 Hornets joined the Canadian Desert Cats squadron based at Qatar, took off in quick succession and straddled Kuwait, heading for occupied Kuwait. There, they swept the skies above it then to protect a formation of eight U.S. F-16 ground-attack jets on their potential challenge from Iraqi fighters. No such challenge came, and all of the U.S. and Canadian aircraft returned safely to their port base near Doha, the Qatar capital. The Canadian's first offensive sortie made Canadian military history not since the end of the Korean War had Canadian military personnel, serving under national colors, gone to war. "It was a great privilege to do it," said Capt. Scott Whitley, 28, of Ottawa, one of the four pilots to fly that first offensive sortie. He led his own CF-18, 28, of Toronto. "It made us feel part of the whole team."

Reactive: The Canadians' controversial entry into the Gulf war as an offensive force was approved by Ottawa on Jan. 19 at the express wish of Britain. Thus, the cabinet authorized the Desert Cats' 24 jets to add sweep-and-escort duties to their original defensive mission of protecting coalition resupply lines from aerial attack. But skeptics blamed bad weather for delaying the debut of the squadron, which is part of the coalition's 1,800-strong aerial armada scraped against the forces of Iraq President Saddam Hussein. Commanding officers ordered, then cancelled, three sweep-and-escort missions because of poor visibility over the designated target areas in Kuwait. But by last Thursday morning, the low clouds had lifted, allowing a strike force of eight Doha-based F-16 ground-attack jets from the U.S. 401st Tactical Fighter Wing to shower Iraq from the air with antipersonnel cluster bombs. The day before, long ground fire had shot down one of the American squadron's F-16s, although a U.S. helicopter rescued the pilot from the sea. But this time there were no mishaps.

As the returning Canadian pilots descended a base, they part in the operation although real, seems to have been solely military, as though

they had been taking part in some lethal computer game. "We were supplied some packing support," said Whitley, using military jargon—"packing" denotes any ground attack or logistical operation at a maximum. The Desert Cats did not even follow the same route as the other formation they arrived over the target area a few minutes in advance on a route of their own in order to avoid surface-to-air threat missiles. Explains Whitley: "The bombers have to go in first, but we have to be ready to go."

In fact, "that stuff" was the target of another element in the mission, a low-flying formation of American F-4G "Wild Weasel" jets, whose mission was especially designed to destroy SAM sites. While the F-4G's are shot at that task, followed by the F-16s with their defenseless, the Canadian's phase, armed with no-to-see missiles, circled at high altitude, leaving a protective screen between the ground-attack planes and any Iraqi jets that might try to interfere. Canada's CF-18s can be equipped with anti-air

Matthews led the first sweep mission



ground missiles, but officials at Ottawa decided that other aircraft with more sophisticated weaponry, such as the F-4G, were better suited to attack ground targets.

The Desert Cats did not see any major enemy aircraft at the first sortie. But Whitley and his comrades said that they were not disappointed by the enemy's failure to try to intercept. "I was quite pleased, actually," said Capt. Jeffery Tait, 26, of Brampton, B.C. "But said that he felt 'pretty excited' on making a solo return. "I'd said I'd miss the ground when I got back, but I didn't do that because of the concern," he added, referring to the presence of a Canadian Forces pilot and that was on hand to record their return.

The leader of the Desert Cats' first sweep mission was commanding officer Lt.-Col. Donald Matthews, an airman as hard to find as a journalist. But his subordinate officers said that all the Canadian pilots have great confidence in their \$20-million hero and in their responsibility for coming to fight. Said Whitley: "The Desert is the last fighter in the world, so far as we're concerned. And the Canadian training program is second to none." And when asked how they would keep the prospect of killing or being killed, never between the ground-attack planes and any Iraqi jets that might try to interfere. Canada's CF-18s can be equipped with anti-air

Confidence: While the Desert Cats was on their eighth mission, Canada's Dry Two, to go on more sweep-and-escort missions, one of their peripheral concerns is the state of public opinion back home. According to an Angus Reid/Geacomb News poll last week, a slight majority of respondents is against Canada's active participation in the war. But that declined. "It's proud of my country for standing up against aggression." The other pilots said that they shared some sentiments. Said Capt. Douglas Carter, 35, of Prince Albert, Sask.: "Every pilot would like to think that everyone at home feels he's doing the right thing." Maj. Russell Cooper, 30, of Hamilton, the squadron's second-in-command, said, "In fact, we've had tremendous support from the people here." Some of them: "Lt. Capt. Reginald Dwyer, 37, of Jacquesville, Que., described the mission as some antiwar protesters that the war is being fought far off. "I believe there are deeper causes," and Dwyer: "I have full confidence in our political leaders."



Canadian ground crew in Qatar preparing CF-18 for flight: the first war flight since Korea

The pilots, however, have more immediate concerns. Like millions of noncombatant television viewers around the world, they have seen Iraq's TV footage of captured coalition flyers, some of them with severely burned faces, making stilted airwar statements under apparent duress. Asked how they felt about Iraq's

treatment of the POWs and how they would conduct themselves in a similar situation, a number of the Canadian flyers demystified their fears, saying that they had been trained to deal with being prisoners of war. "We have sessions with military legal advisors," Carter said. "We talk about the Geneva Convention

far from the issue of battle. Officers have said that French official attitudes towards the Gulf war is unbalanced. French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Goussier has said a diplomatic solution to the crisis. "We have diplomats in Doha and last week that the French military attaché had acknowledged that his country's Mirage were in Qatar 'for public relations'."

Build fly overcast: The Desert Cats' host, the big but old-run mission, at Qatar (population 500,000), struck its first military blow against the Iraqi last week. The deeply conservative Qataris sometimes were characteristically tight-lipped about the matter, issuing a brief statement saying only that the captured had "cannot not combat missions by striking at specific targets in occupied Kuwait." But the U.S. military command in Saudi Arabia disclosed that the Jan. 22 attack involved French-built Alpha jets of Qatar's 300-man, 24-plane air force, which are normally armed with 30 air-to-ground missiles.

The successful raid appeared to evoke mixed feelings of pride and apprehension among Qataris: pride that the little state was playing its part in the multinational effort to liberate Kuwait, and apprehension that the Iraqi might retaliate. Although 400 miles from Iraq's southern border, Doha—and its harbor of U.A.E. Qatar and Canadian jets—is clearly within range of some of Saddam Hussein's Scud missiles.

JOHN BERNAN IN Doha

Pilots Whitley (left), Tait and Tait: demystifying fears of being captured





Rescue workers aiding a victim of recent attack in Tel Aviv; civilian targets

THE TERROR OF TEL AVIV

IRAQI ATTACKS FAIL TO GOAD ISRAEL

In the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip, a 25-year-old Palestinian, who identified himself only as Mohamed, was mobbed. "Now the Jews can find how we suffer when they kill our men, women and children," he said. Mohamed was reacting over Iraq's attacks on the Tel Aviv suburb of Ramat Gan on Jan. 22. At the time, a Saudi missile slammed onto an apartment building, killing three civilians, injuring nearly 130 others, and heavily damaging 20 other buildings. It was part of a sustained daily series of missile launches against Israeli civilian targets. Members of the UN coalition against Iraq worried openly that Israel would unleash its powerful military—and perhaps prompt Arab states to reconsider their membership in the alliance. That Defense Minister Moshe Arens said that Israel will continue to show restraint, while reserving the right to strike back. With that, Iraq's deliberate attempts to draw Israel into the Gulf war apparently failed—at least for now.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his right-wing Likud government seem to be acutely aware of the diplomatic and military



occupied West Bank and Gaza, who expect them that the new wave of immigration will equal the very territories that they are demanding as a bribe.

Despite the almost nightly air-raid warnings—and the eight deaths that the Saudis caused by the weekend—Shamir's government is under little public pressure to act quickly against Iraq. A Hebrew University poll

published last week showed that 94 per cent of respondents said that they approved of the way the government is handling the crisis. At the same time the advanced Pollster missile defense system, which U.S. troops have installed in Israel on Jan. 19, has given Shamir more to mull over. The Patriots, while hiding their first test in Israel—the Ramat Gan incident—have been generally successful since then and have clearly increased the confidence of many across Israel.

Scores. By Thursday, many Israelis had returned to work. But schools remained closed and, day and night, Israeli carried gas masks and cardboard boxes to protect against the possibility that a few might be attacked with a chemical weapon. As well, when the sirens sounded, roads and television announcements instructed people to go into sealed rooms and get on their knees.

In Ramat Gan on Thursday, a woman was picking through the rubble of the apartment she shared with her mother. Shira, 22, who declared to give her full name, recalled the moment that the Iraqi missile rang their doorway bell. "My sister and her family had come to stay with us. Several of us huddled in the sealed room when the sirens sounded. The explosion was incredibly loud, but sufficient, like no sound I have ever heard before. As we braced for a second explosion, I looked up and saw a hole in the roof. I watched the sky turn flame-red." She added, "I grew up in this house. Now, I have to start all over again."

Meanwhile, Iraqi defense Secretary Hussein's stock as viewed high among Palestinians in the region. In the Shalim refugee camp south of Jerusalem, several young Palestinians said that they did not believe that coalition air strikes on Iraq were inflicting the kind of massive damage reported in the Western media. One of them told Markman, "No, we watch CNN on Jordanian or Israeli television. We know it's an American network. It just isn't trustworthy to think the coalition's job." Sam Nassim, a moderate Palestinian poet, expressed the sentiment for Iraq. "Palestinians admire Saddam [Hussein] as an Arab leader who can wage war, who is still standing up against a superpower," he said. "For 43 years, the Israelis have been hitting us. Now, what we are in need of is their own way."

Cautious. The Palestinian support for Iraq may dampen any Israeli enthusiasm for military intervention on the Palestinian beachhead. Said Ehud Barak, the Likud chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs and defense committee: "Four million Jews had to wear gas masks more than 43 years after Auschwitz. This will have changed the Israeli state of mind. If I will have asked permission to those who respect the Palestinian people, it is Barak's prediction more accurately, the objections of millions of terrified Palestinians may become another casualty of war."

ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem

A WARTIME MENTALITY

A NATION ADJUSTS TO NEW TENSIONS

The impact of war raging in the Persian Gulf cut across the stock and security markets this nation. In Toronto, M.D., Sergio Ponce, a 17-year-old Grade 12 student at Renssela Central High School prepared to write a World Problems examination, largely devoted to the war. Said Ponce: "Students here are nervous and afraid." Across the country, in Vancouver Island, there were smaller signs of tense apprehension. Said bags had manager Robert Lynn of Victoria: "The boys selling guns on the floor are bringing a lot about the war. There's a lot of tension." And when the nation's attention finally focused on the Prime Minister's parliamentary—and immigration authorities—also disrupted last week with the conflict that has forced Canadian forces into combat for the first time in 35 years.

Reactions. Activities confirmed that money and power had been used to detain an Iraq couple who claimed refugee status when they flew into Toronto on Jan. 19 after traveling with false Saudi passports. The 39-year-old man carried what officials said appeared to be a sleeping pill in Arabic for sedation, and documents and materials that were the couple went before an immigration adjudicator for a review review of their case last week, the officials said. Their release, saying that there was insufficient evidence that they posed a threat to public safety. Immigration officials also responded with a "security certificate," issued under a controversial section of the Immigration Act and signed by Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall and Solicitor General Pierre Côté. That action provides for the detention of aliens where, among other things, "there are reasonable grounds to believe [they] will engage in acts of espionage or subversion." This week, a Federal Court judge was to review the government's evidence against the detained Iraqi.

In Ottawa, members of the recalled Canada's military who were technically not a declaration of war. Instead, the MPs were considering a motion to reaffirm Canada's support for the UN resolution freezing Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. The distinction was central to the strategy of Prime Minister James Mulroney's government of Ottawa to position Canada firmly to the international body—and displaying the role of Washington in leading the coalition against Iraq.

The Prime Minister stated the motion, on behalf of International Affairs Minister Joe Clark, on Jan. 19, before the House began its month on Iraq issues last on Jan. 18. Ottawa time: 10

the end, after 15 hours of debate over five days. MPs passed the motion on Jan. 22 by a vote of 217 to 47. Most of the dissenters were New Democrats. As for the Liberals, freemasons approved within the party once the hostilities were under way in the Gulf—and under Jean Charest's widely moderated his opposition to Canada's commitment of forces to the Gulf. The party's new quarrelled bitterly among themselves during a four-hour private meeting before voting 47 to 4 to back the war effort—without new members above.

The outcome appeared to reflect a wide public willingness to endorse the way in which

were strict conditions attached to some of the support. For one thing, only 26 per cent of respondents to the Angus Reid survey agreed that Canada should "actively participate in military action," with 63 per cent saying that Canadian forces should remain on a defensive role only. Indeed, 50% Lester Austin McLaughlin, whose party has been leading both the Tories and the Liberals in opinion polls, uncommitted her vote against the Commons motion later in the week, telling a news conference in Edmonton: "We have lost an opportunity to act where Canada could be most effective—as a mediating role."



Malrooney, Clark during cabinet session rarely used powers, careful strategy

Malrooney's government has headed the war, at least in the early stages. The public opinion was an unusual situation for Tory party members after months in which their standing had plummeted to an low as 12 per cent in opinion polls. According to one survey done for the government by Ipsos Research Ltd., 70 per cent of those polled supported its action—supporting the decision to join the 34 Canadian C-18 fighter planes in the Gulf to provide support for coalition bombers attacking Iraqi installations. As well, an Angus Reid/Southwest poll released last week revealed that 73 per cent of 1,500 adults questioned immediately after the first attack on Iraq backed the decision to place a force in the Gulf region. Still, the polling also indicated that there

While the political gains and losses from the decision to join in the assault on Iraq were not fully felt at week's end, the financial costs were beginning to become clear. According to Chief of the Defence Staff Gen. John de Chastelain, Canada's Gulf commitment has added \$60 million a month to the cost of sustaining the armed forces. And Prime Minister Michael Wilson said that some government programs may have to be cut or reduced in order to avoid the cost of the lighting. These comments suggested that Canadians may just be beginning to feel the pressures of war in the Gulf.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa with PAUL KADALA in Toronto

THE FEAR LEFT BEHIND

THE ANGUISH OF MILITARY FAMILIES

The fear has been there—even without the war. During 11 years of marriage, says Mary Peterson, 33, she has lived each day with the dread that her fighter-pilot husband, Vay, would not return safely from his latest mission. Last week, with her husband stationed in Qatar and with Canadian CF-18s flying their first combat missions in the Persian Gulf war, Peterson and her three children waited with apprehension at their home on Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, 250 km northeast of Edmonton. "Accidents happen to pilots," she told *Maclean's*. "We just need an increase in the risks." In a duplex only blocks away, Valerie Berger, 30, mother of two children, Jennifer, 4, and Carl, 5½, clearly shared Peterson's concerns. Berger's husband, aviation technician Capt. Glen Berger, 21, is also in Qatar—where Canada's Gulf contingent of 24 CF-18s and more than 700 support personnel are stationed. Berger says that she was left "in shock" when she first learned that he was sent to the Middle East. She added, "The kids said, 'Is my daddy going to die?'"

Across Canada, armed forces families faced the stark reality of war with a mixture of stoicism and anguish. Nowhere was that more evident than in the military centres of Cold Lake and Halifax, the home bases for many of the aeroplanes and pilots serving in the Gulf. Vows, husbands, parents and children spoke the stark truth about their constabular status. Family members are making to the war effort against Iraq. But they also acknowledge their dread that not all of theirs will return. And there were nagging feelings of helplessness reaching towards lonely, isolated corners of the world, where many families withdrew out of fit way to ensure that their loved ones would not be playing an active part in the war. Decided James Sumner of Saskatoon, a Halifax sailor's wife, husband, Michael, is a ban on aboard the battleship *Abdullah*—one of three Canadian vessels serving in the Gulf. "When I see my husband in the middle of this, it's a hard act to think that the government was lying to me all along."

Stress, indeed, in the Gulf war heated up, military families fought their own battle against despair. And while some found it difficult to cope with the stress, others met that they were finding reserves of strength that they never knew existed. "Nasty news gets out of my



Lady with daughter Kateleyr strength

wasn't as panicked survivors," said Ann Murphy of Halifax whose husband, Joseph, is an engineering officer aboard the *Abdullah*. She added, "I'm confident and secure in the knowledge that my husband's coming home." Still, each family finds one way to deal with the anxiety. Some were made children tried to find comfort in the everyday routines of jobs and school. But others said that they were unable to forget the conflict in which their husbands are serving. In Cold Lake, Marion Kline, wife of 49-year-old pilot Maj. David Kline, said that she and her three children found the

daily television coverage of the war soothing but emotionally draining. "Sometimes I would like to turn the TV off first thing the morning," she said. "But you don't do such for the kids to used them off to actual with all that stuff. Indeed, the kids, her two sons, ages 14 and 11, and her nine-year-old daughter "are overwhelmed by TV, especially the 10:00 coverage. That has been devastating for us."

Many military families found strength by leaning together. Some turned to formal en-

ity support groups that offer financial and marriage counselling, emergency babysitting, up-to-date information on the Gulf conflict—and opportunities to talk about their fears with others in the same situation. Explained Tanya Luby, 26, of Chester House, N.S., whose husband, Eric, is an engineer aboard the *Abdullah*. "You take strength from them and they take strength from you."

Goodwill. The civilian community, for the most part, has been supportive. In Halifax, where yellow ribbons bearing the names of sailors serving in the Gulf hang from trees throughout the city, military families have received displays from restaurants and grocery and department stores, as well as from telebars from theatres and Synchro New Scotia. In the hospital of bedroom conversations surrounding CF-18s Cold Lake, where yellow ribbons also dot trees and lampposts, there were similar expressions of goodwill: laughter, organized parties, shovelled sidewalks and started stalled cars for the families of absent airmen. David Kline: "It's just a nice place, as the wife of a serviceman, the people are."

Still, some wives said that they were hurt, frustrated and angered by the dozens of antiwar protests erupting across the country in recent weeks. Others in Saskatoon, B.C., said that they were shaken by more direct examples of antiwarism—4 and 50-cent candles. The West Coast town is the home base for the naval ship *Halifax*—now bound for Halifax via the *Phoenix* Canal—where crew was scheduled to fly from Halifax to the Gulf to relieve the crew of the *Halifax*. The ship's place was cancelled with the outbreak of war. But after the *Halifax*'s departure from Esquimalt, several navy wives received telephone calls from people claiming to be senior military officials informing them that their husbands were dead. Said Linda Paul Segura, information officer at CF Esquimalt: "The number [of calls] has not been high, but one or two calls of this type can be extremely distressing." In one case, a group of people got arranged to look like a body bag was left on the lawn of one service woman's wife. Without such provocation, apprehension may have among military families, as the lives of their loved ones now depend on the fortunes of a war half a world away.

JOHN DOMONT in Halifax and JANE WOODS in Calgary and BAE GUYTON in Vancouver



Field hospital exercise in Whitewater, Alta., in 1989: a mission of mercy

A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH

CANADA DEPLOYS OPERATION SCALPEL

The reality of war struck Lt.-Col. John Siskins on Jan. 18 as he descended into the blackened silence of a bunker in Qatar. Only two hours earlier, the 36-year-old air gunner and command officer of the field hospital at the Canadian Forces base at Peterson, Ont., had been on his way home to Canada after a 10-day humanitarian trip to the Persian Gulf.

Katzen's mission, to lay the groundwork for Operation Scalpel, a 180-bed Canadian field hospital at Saudi Arabia that will be under his command. Nasty minutes into the flight over Saudi Arabia, however, his CF Hercules flight was abruptly ordered back to Qatar as the Hercules' cockpit windows activated its bombs away. Righted. "The great reality is I am as I sit in the heater in my gas mask and protective suit for the next two days," said Katzen, who finally arrived in

Canada on Jan. 22. "I was never more acutely aware of the pressure and tension I would be taking my colleagues back home to share."

For the members of the Canadian medical unit under Katzen's command, firsthand experience of such situations is now imminent. The schedule for the outbreak of war, an advance team of military personnel, including two 16-member surgical crews, left CF Peterson for training at Saudi Arabia last week. They will be followed by Katzen and a second operational unit this week and the remaining support crew—about 280 ground troops—on Feb. 15. By mid-March, the field hospital, with a total staff of up to 520 people, is expected to be fully operational. And once established, the mobile unit will have to deal with the most gruesome aspect of war: casualties resulting from the expected ground battle in Ku-

wait, with the front line as little as 100 km away. Unsurprisingly, the war is in working together, the team will face 12-hour workdays, the threat of long chemical attacks and the prospect of unrelieved duty for the duration of the war. Said Katzen, a father of four who also has a master's degree in nuclear engineering from McMaster University in Hamilton: "Let's not get ourselves—anybody in 100-year-old these circumstances."

Wounded. Still, military officials say little more could be done on such short notice to prepare the field hospital for duty. Canada accepted a British request on Jan. 16 to add to the existing 9,000 hospital beds already pledged by coalition countries. Ottawa agreed to provide another 100 beds at an expected cost of \$20 million. The hospital, with five 20-bed wards and two operating rooms, will be housed in clusters of canvas tents. The camp also includes a pharmacy, a laboratory, X-ray and supply rooms, a triage ward, where patients are sorted according to the severity of wounds. The entire operation can be packed up and ready to move in less than 15 hours.

In making the commitment, Canada spent hours in the desert, where it will be the only Canadian unit to be deployed. Protected by tanks, the unit's own ground troops and the international symbols of the Red Cross and its Islamic equivalent, the Red Crescent, display prominently on front steps, the Canadian hospital is to treat both coalition wounded and Iraqi prisoners of war.

To staff the hospital, military officials say, they have obtained the ranks of several hundred surgical personnel in Canadian bases in Canada and in Germany. The 18-member medical team includes four surgeons, four anaesthetists, one anaesthetist specialist, a radiologist, oncologic surgeon, an general-duty medical officer, six dentists, 13 operating-room technicians and 46 nurses. Said Capt. Glenn Lerville, 28, an army nurse from Northern Ontario called up with three other medical personnel on his four-year duty: "No one expects this to be either easy or enjoyable."

Still apprehensive was evident in the CF Peterson operations room last week as the medical hospital team assembled for the first time as a unit. Dressed suitably in green combat gear, the group listened as Maj. Robert McKeown, the unit's deputy commander, told them that each member would be equipped with a gas mask, protective clothing and a mask for personal protection. They would be expected to return home, and McKeown: "I'm not sure that they will be able to experience." But Master Cpl Dan McTaggart of Toronto, 26, a 22-year-old reserve paramedic with experience in paramedic operations in Cyprus and Egypt, that meant a chance "to see what war is like." But, for many others, the launch of an uncertain—and potentially dangerous—mission of mercy.

B. KATE FELTON at CF Peterson with NANCY WOOD in Ottawa



Katzen: grow reality

THE OIL SPILL TESTS PRICES

INITIALLY, AT LEAST, EVEN FIRES AND THE MASSIVE SLICK DID NOT SHAKE CONFIDENCE IN WORLD SUPPLIES

In the midst of the latest Persian Gulf war developments last week, oil executives and some members of the investment industry took a particular interest. Immediately after the war began, the investment group that was one of the first to tell investors that they would have to pay a substantial weekly premium of 3.5 per cent of the value of their cargo to insure vessels shipping at Qatir, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia's Gulf ports. This was more than 100 cents the rate that it provided before the outbreak of hostilities. Last week, however, the committee lowered the rate to two per cent, reflecting a widespread belief among investors that, even if hostilities were to continue, the Gulf would remain a major oil supplier to the world.

"The view at the moment is that the allies have established air superiority," said David Mathias, a spokesman for the Institute of London Underwriters. "There's only really the threat from Iraq." But, after a measure of oil spills spreading over Gulf waters late in the week, overall assessments may now change.

Previously, most traders and analysts said that the Gulf war was unlikely to cause any major disruptions in oil supplies to industrialized countries. They contended that, outside even after Iraq forces set fires at one of Kuwait's fire refineries was apparent effect to cause a sizable spike over their defenses. Thus, U.S. and other members of the UN coalition accused Iraq of deliberately spilling

vast quantities of oil into the Gulf from an offshore loading terminal in Kuwait. The first reports were contradictory, with Iraq accusing the coalition of causing the spill by bombing tankers in the area. But at week's end, both U.S. and British officials claimed that Iraq was dumping up to 100,000 barrels a day into the Gulf from an underwater pipeline and setting fires that could damage other shipping in the area. One British oil expert, who has lived in Kuwait, said that the offshore terminal where the spill was taking place received oil from pipelines, some big enough to drive a car through, stretching from storage tanks above Al Ahmadi, south of Kuwait City.

Early in the week, traders said the price of a barrel of crude by \$3.86 (U.S.) on the New York Mercantile Exchange to \$34.18. But by week's end, even after initial reports of the oil spill, the price had fallen to \$31.36, compared with \$19.53 a week earlier. "The market does not expect any long-term disruption of supply," said Cohen Scholes, a Calgary-based oil futures trader for the investment firm Burns Fry Ltd. Scholes said that oil lenders in New York City "initially ignored" the first reports of the spill because Kuwait and Iraq

both had long played no part in world oil markets since last August. Canada's oil industry benefited greatly from the removal in the Gulf. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2 triggered a sharp increase in oil prices, which peaked at \$41.25 per barrel. The results of that invasion have evolved last week when several at Canada's large oil companies reported higher profits for the last three months of 1990. Shell Canada Ltd., for one, announced that its earnings for the quarter ended \$144 million on revenues of \$1.6 billion, compared with \$34 million on revenues of \$1.3 billion in the same period in 1989. Imperial Oil Ltd., Calgary, reported a 30-per-cent increase in earnings of \$20 million on revenues of \$2.3 billion, compared with \$85 million on revenues of \$2.1 billion a year earlier.

Drilling contractors in Alberta and Saskatchewan also found new opportunities as a result of the surge in oil prices. Denis Kowalek, president of Beaver Drilling Ltd. of Calgary, said that all nine of his rigs are now operating producing a total of 133 jobs. Before the invasion, he added, his company had only three rigs in operation, employing 35 people. And Kowalek said that all nine of his rigs are now operating producing a total of 133 jobs. Before the invasion, he added, his company had only three rigs in operation, employing 35 people. And Kowalek said that all nine of his rigs are now operating producing a total of 133 jobs. Before the invasion, he added, his company had only three rigs in operation, employing 35 people.



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Burning Saudi oil tests 'a scorched-earth policy'

worldwide economic slowdown. And although the fire accumulated large amounts of crude to protect them at the onset of a shortage. According to the Paris-based International Energy Agency, oil inventories in Western countries stood at a near-year high of 3.7 billion barrels last week, enough to last 96 days at current rates of consumption.

As a result, experts are now predicting postwar crude oil prices of about \$15 a barrel if prices stabilized at that level, several proposed Canadian oil mergers would be unable to produce oil profitably. Chief among them the \$5.8-billion, Imperial Oil project at the coast of Newfoundland. And in Ottawa last week, Energy Minister Jean Lapierre said that the current uncertainty in oil markets had forced the government to reconsider its plan to begin privatizing Petro-Canada this spring. Analysts say that it could be only for OPEC to proceed with a large share offering at a time when prices for crude oil remain volatile.

So far, Saudi Arabia's major oil producers appear relatively safe from any serious strike by Iraq forces. Military experts point out that most of the country's oil wells, pipelines and refineries are out of Iraq's artillery range, except for the Khafji depot, which has recovered from major damage. Kuwait's oil facilities, on the other hand, appear to have been marked for destruction by Iraq President Saddam Hussein. A Lebanese news reporter who has been in Kuwait, Haid Al-Akai, said last week that Iraq troops had planted explosives at hundreds of Kuwait's 850 oil wells in an apparent effort to deter a ground attack, by the coalition forces. Said Henry Schuler, director of energy security programs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "I think it is likely that the Iraqis will adopt a scorched-earth policy." He said that the cost of recovering Kuwait and Iraq oil facilities damaged by the war would reach \$40 billion. That could create huge profits for U.S., British and Japanese engineering companies that have experience in constructing petroleum facilities.

Oilfield firefighters also find their services in demand. Two Canadian companies, Red Deer, Alberta-based Red Flame Oilfield Fire Services Specialists, and Calgary-based Safety Bros Inc., are among the handful of firms worldwide that specialize in extinguishing and capping burning oil wells.

But investors were disheartened by the reports that Saudi Arabia was planning to increase its oil exports to other countries. Many American policy-makers and business leaders also point out economic problems. After meeting in New York last week with the Group of Seven finance ministers of Canada, Germany, Japan, France, Britain and Italy, U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady said that a successful conclusion to the war would restore economic confidence and boost economic growth.

Although U.S. officials cautioned that the end of the war may not be months away, consumers are already benefiting from lower gasoline prices. Last week, the average price of a liter of unleaded gasoline across Canada dropped to 62.3 cents, down two cents from the week before but still about five cents a liter higher than the price before the invasion. The decline in gasoline prices, some analysts say, will encourage companies with the rules faced by Canadian forces in the Middle East. But it did moderate that low price in the oil industry have been concerned about Saddam Hussein's ability to inflict damage on world supplies.

JOHN DAILY with correspondence reports

Business Notes

CHITING ALGOMA LOOSE

The chairman of Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd. and its 7,500 workers in its fields after the Defiance Inc. announced \$1.2 billion in losses by its wholly owned subsidiary, The Hamilton-based Defiance, Canada's largest oil refiner, and that it will take a \$700-million write-down against its Algoma holdings. Defiance bought the South St. Mary, Ont., refiner in 1981 for \$500 million. Algoma president Robert Switzer said that his company now must subtract \$1.2 billion from its assets in order to remain viable.

A CHANGE OF PACE

A steady decline rate in December enabled Bank of Canada governor John Crow to reduce the key central bank rate to 10.25 per cent from 11.50 per cent the week before—the first time it has been below 11 per cent since November 1988. The December rate stabilized at five per cent, although analysts say that they expect an increase in January, reflecting the inflationary impact of the new seven-per-cent GST.

BANKRUPTCIES SOAR

As the recession deepened in Canada, bankruptcies soared 43 per cent to a record 54,434 in 1990, compared with 37,866 in 1989. Ontario led the hardest hit, 19,135 businesses and companies declared bankruptcy during 1990, up 61 per cent from 1989.

SMASHING THE BARRIER

The Montreal-based telecommunications giant BCE Inc. broke through the \$1-billion profit barrier for the third time. In 1990, BCE posted profits of \$1.1 billion on revenues of \$12.4 billion—despite a \$544-million write-down against debt-related losses to Roberts Technology Corp., an Ottawa-based high-technology company. BCE's subsidiaries include Bell Canada, the nation's largest telephone utility, and Northern Telecom Ltd. It recorded its first \$1-billion profit in 1987 and last a \$1-billion profit in 1987.

FIRE TRADE ON TRACK

Canada, the United States and Mexico plan to announce within two weeks that they will begin trade talks on trade negotiations in the services sector. Trade Minister Jean Charest said. While a Canadian trade official who asked not to be identified told Maclean's that the three countries have also agreed to try to conclude an agreement by March 1992.



Chagnon: an experiment that is now attracting worldwide attention

Shaping reality

Vidéotron banks on a new form of TV

Canada's Corneilien flew 3,000 miles from Copenhagen to Montreal last month just to watch a broadcast of an rock game. It was a seven-hour journey the viewer who produces (either to download the sport or even to enjoy it. But what does the 39-year-old French television executive have to do with the game itself—a 4-3 win for the home-town Canadiens over the New York Islanders—but a revolutionary new medium by which it was being transmitted. "This is why I'm here," he said, waving a seemingly ordinary remote-control device in front of a television set in a downtown TV studio. With a flip of a button, Corneilien switched to a new channel: a live broadcast of a hockey game. A third product is instant replay. "This is not just another tool to play into your set," he said as he continued to fiddle with the controls. "It's a tool with intelligence."

The object of Corneilien's prize is a service called Videotron, a new form of interactive television that was created in the United States, but has been refocused into a commercial proposition almost entirely by Le Groupe Vidéotron Inc., the Montreal-based cable company.

In simple terms, Videotron enables viewers to interact with the programs they are watching: they can switch channels, skip to sporting events, change the format of super-bowl broadcasts, participate in game shows or choose from a long menu of other electronic services. To name, the service starts as a gimmick, a \$29-a-month gamble that could make or break Videotron. Corneilien's second-largest cable television company led the operation of the largest private French-language TV network in North America. But others say that Videotron has the potential to revolutionize not only television but many other sectors of the telecommunications industry as well. And in the eyes of Corneilien, the company's president and chief executive officer, Videotron is a Copeland telephone company, demystified, the experiment is beginning to attract worldwide attention. "This year, Videotron was just a dream," said André Chagnon, founder and chairman of Le Groupe Vidéotron. "But it has been in operation for a year now, and that dream is becoming a reality."

Vidéotron, which now Quebec's largest cable system with 965,000 subscribers, began offering the interactive service in January,

1990. For an additional \$10.95 a month, on top of the \$19.95 basic monthly cable TV fee, subscribers plug ready technology by entering the required bar-code—on the set of a video cassette recorder and in all-purpose remote-control device with four extra buttons. By last week, 60,000 cable subscribers had signed up for the service. In fact, Videotron officials say that they expected a promotional campaign only last year after it became obvious that they were acceptable of keeping up with the demand for the proposed hardware. The company is now trying to use a second round of Videotron calls. Says Chagnon: "People are showing us that they love the family of services that we can offer."

Vidéotron now offers its users 120 different services. They include stock options, supermarket prices, restaurant guides, television, lottery results, a messaging service, educational programs and 25 separate on-line videos. By next summer, the company hopes to have expanded the menu to 500 services.

The star attraction, however, is the service that allows cable subscribers to control some of what they see and hear on television by means of the free set-top box on the remote control device. All of the programs currently available on the interactive screen are produced by Vidéotron Inc., a Videotron subsidiary that operates nine TV stations in Quebec. During a hockey broadcast, set-top boxes call up the regular live feed, two people close-ups of the stars and the fourth on screen on instant

replays. "What the system really does is let the viewer play the role of director," said Jean-Paul Galarneau, Videotron's director of communications. He added that the cost of producing the service is borne by Videotron, which already has the broadcast rights to Videotron's sports, news, games in Montreal.

The same buttons allow viewers to call up additional information during regular Videotron broadcasts. The options include an eight-minute, pre-recorded package of sports highlights and a detailed list of stock market prices. During questionnaires, viewers can choose their sports studio contestants by using the buttons on the remote-control device to add their responses to a series of multiple-choice questions. Their scores are then displayed in a box in the upper right-hand corner of the screen. In the long run, Galarneau said, Videotron also hopes to take advantage of the interactive service to offer special advertising packages. "One day we will be in ads viewers before a program started to indicate their sex, their age, their income and so on," he said.

The television station could use that information to determine what kinds of commercials each viewer sees, Galarneau added. Although Videotron appears to be well on the way to winning consumer acceptance in Quebec, it has yet to be tested in other markets. Last week, Corneilien said that his company plans to introduce the service in Copenhagen next fall. Meanwhile, Chagnon says that he hopes to begin selling Videotron to other Canadian cable companies in November. He added that the company is currently negotiating with a consortium of U.S. cable firms, television networks and advertisers to launch pilot interactive services in three U.S. cities. Another test of the technology is currently in the works in a place seen in Britain. Over the past 12 months, Videotron has assembled a network of cable television franchises in Southampton and parts of central London—areas that are home to an estimated 1.5 million potential subscribers. Last year, the company embarked on a three-year, \$250-

million construction plan to supply cable television to those possible future customers. Currently, only 1.4 per cent of British households subscribe to cable or satellite television services. But Chagnon says that he hopes to succeed in the British market by offering Videotron as part of Videotron's basic cable service.

But not everyone is convinced that Videotron's future is completely secure as a result of the company's pioneering efforts with interactive television. Only last December, Toronto-based BNC Dominion Securities Ltd. lowered Videotron's debt rating because of concerns that the company's huge investments in Videotron and other cable were straining its balance sheet. Just last week, Videotron reported that its profits for the three months that ended Nov. 30 were \$2.4 million on revenues of \$13.2 million, less than half the \$5.1 million on revenues of \$48.8 million in the same period a year earlier. "I have to say that Videotron is not viewed with a complete lack of concern," said Derrick Leach, a communications analyst with the Toronto-based investment firm Desautels & Co. Leach added that he is concerned about the potential for success of "that responsive television. But I don't really know how attractive it is."

But last, Chagnon dismisses the skeptics in the investment community. "They are killing uncertainty in this country and in the United States, too," he complained. "Every time a concept tries something different, they will eventually to tell the story." He predicted that Videotron's experiment with interactive television would one day contribute half of the company's earnings. And he pointed to the growing interest in the technology outside of Canada as proof of his contention that the concept is the beginning of a telecommunications revolution. "It's a win-win situation," Chagnon says. If that is true, then services such as Videotron will certainly be the waves of the future.

BARRY CANE IN MONTREAL

THE VIDEOTRON EMPIRE

The Montreal-based communications company owns Canada's second-largest cable TV system and is a pioneer in the use of interactive technology

EMPLOYEES: 2,500

SUBSCRIBERS: Quebec.....965,000
Alberta.....133,000
Southern England.....17,000

SUBSIDIARIES: Videotron owns 40.2 per cent of Télé-Québec, Canada's largest privately owned French-language TV network, and 81 per cent of London-based Videotron Corp. Ltd.

1990 REVENUES:\$421.9 million

1990 PROFITS:\$16.1 million



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Why Bush should have delayed the war

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Because democracies always have trouble justifying war, its declaration has historically been a measure of last resort—the final act in a long series of nonmilitary attempts to settle territorial

claims by more peaceful means. The war in the Persian Gulf is no exception. One of the early justifications given by President George Bush for starting the invasion and the shooting—for declaring war in a last resort—was that any further time lapse would only allow Saddam Hussein to see himself better, prolonging the effort to drive him out of Kuwait. That's why hostilities started on Jan. 16, long before there was any conclusive evidence that economic sanctions might not work.

This was more than a little curious since the weight of nearly all the evidence presented to the U.S. Congress indicated the difficulties of defeating Iraq's army from Kuwait, unless their supply and maintenance capabilities were first weakened by the effects of a long-term embargo. The sanctions were in place for little more than five months, not long enough to prove very much because many countries, especially the Iraqis, who have lived under siege for most of a decade, maintain at least a minimal stock of stocks and essential foreign commodities. Even so, as brief as it was, the embargo cost Iraq \$6 per barrel on its gross domestic product.

It was especially effective on the export side, since 95 per cent of Iraq's foreign exchange earnings depend on oil sales, which were all completely cut off, depriving Baghdad of more than \$1.75 billion a month in national revenues. That \$1.75 billion a month in national revenues that the United States reserves as top of the country's existing foreign debt of \$60 billion would have been left to Iraq's creditors and unable to purchase anything on credit anywhere—since if some nation did begin willing to lend it self-willed trading loan.

On Aug. 15, only nine days after they must have begun, Bush declared: "The sanctions are working." And they were. Iraq's imports of raw materials, industrial goods and machinery, as

The great mystery of the Gulf conflict is the President's buff of the CIA's eloquent case to play out the sanctions

cluding spare parts for cars and trucks—some of which are made domestically—were reduced overnight by 80 per cent. The desert climate took its toll on the Iraqis, who quickly ran out of engines, requiring them to spend replacement. Because so many basic products are imported, Iraq's per capita food consumption had, by Jan. 15, been reduced to 1,800 calories a day from the pre-invasion average of 2,300 calories. Average adult male consumption in Canada is 3,270 calories.

Hussein had sustained a strict rationing program with coupons that bought less and less food as the embargo began to bite. Coupons good for 17 lbs. of flour per month per person in September were being exchanged for only 11 lbs. by January. This rationing had been cut by two-thirds to 3.8 ounces per month, and sugar prices soared from \$3.40 per pound in August to \$6.60 by December. Fresh milk, poultry and eggs were available only on the black market at wildly inflated prices.

Given that Iraq has a healthy face sector, it kept some of its food stored, so that 1990 crops would have been drastically soiled down. The availability of consumer products would have declined with accelerating speed until sanctions, as more and more of the nation's

assets were disrupted to feed Hussein's massive military buildup.

The most graphic description of the effects of sanctions was given by a witness who appeared before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee on Dec. 5. That witness portrayed Iraq's military might as undergoing slow suffocation as the embargo began to bite, cutting off 50 per cent of the country's essential imports.

Under reasonable conditions, grain, ground and air forces can probably sustain their current levels of readiness for as long as nine months," the witness noted. "But," he added, "the Iraqis will eventually halt Iraq's army by preventing the replacement of old systems and creating shortages of critical technology. We expect the Iraqis are now to feel the effects of sanctions more quickly because of its greater reliance on high technology and foreign equipment and electronics."

He went on to predict—and this turned out to be particularly significant in view of what's happened since—that "Iraqi exports to our planeted satellite, the P-4 [Mexico] will be achieved with significant difficulty. If at all, because of the needs of foreign industries," and that the same shortage of exports to service Iraq's agricultural needs will prevent the use of its oil "to sustain its current levels of services for three to six months."

The witness concentrated in great detail the devastating effects of the economic embargo on Iraq's military machine and forecast that, if sanctions were maintained until the summer—five months from now—all but Iraq's energy-related and military industries would be shut down.

What's surprising about this testimony is that its author was William H. Webster, Assistant Chief of Staff, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In retrospect, the great mystery of the Gulf conflict is the President's refusal of the CIA's eloquent case to play out the sanctions. It's not as if Bush, who headed the CIA in 1965 under President Gerald Ford, is unfamiliar with agency conclusions.

Webster's testimony was reinforced by former chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe and Gen. David Jones, who urged Bush to give sanctions at least a year to work. Several former U.S. secretaries of defense recommended the same strategy. The advice on maintaining sanctions was prompted not by fear or weakness, nor by the love of peace, but by a realistic, bottom-line assessment of Saddam's situation. The Iraqis are economic runts on the world's economic map, but its maintenance depends on the same funds that built it up at the first of the \$1.75 billion in monthly oil revenues that the sanctions had successfully eliminated.

The CIA analysis suggested that "withholding would serve—and being the Iraqis' data base to feed with relevant data. We will never know whether 'withholding' was the right strategy, but I think it would have been given a lower chance by the world."

As one of Bush's Democratic opponents bitterly noted, Saddam Hussein may be the Adolf Hitler of the 1990s—but George Bush is no Winston Churchill.

MEDIA

High-cost coverage

The war is proving expensive for networks

When President George Bush appeared on television on Jan. 16 to announce the beginning of the war against Iraq, the largest viewing audience in American history tuned in—estimated 85 million of the 93.2 million TV-

ing. Other companies going in the reverse: Herbie Hancock, Kodak Chemicals Inc., Toronto-based Kraft General Foods and Coca-Cola United Inc. Although all networks cut back on continued live war broadcasting last week, analysts said that the commercial-cov-



TV news anchor Ted Koppel on the set. Ratings up, revenues down.

coverage goes might be profitable—and so do commercials. As well, some firms that do not want their products associated with war are pulling their ads. As a result, some analysts said, the coverage of the first two weeks of the war cost the three major networks and U.S. networks, NBC, CBS and ABC, an estimated \$20 million in lost advertising revenue.

These lost revenues take a heavy toll on the TV networks, which are already hard hit by budget cuts and lagging ad revenues because of the recession. According to John Fox, president of the Toronto-based Association of Canadian Broadcasters, many large corporate sponsors reluctant to use their ads supporting war are in jeopardy of losing a wide range of advertisers in the United States and Canada pulled back. New York City-based Time Warner announced to its Jan. 18 decision to indefinitely suspend all TV and radio advertise-

age in the first three days of the conflict as the CBS and NBC networks could not both handle thousands of dollars as a result of preempted or withdrawn commercials. "There is no question we are going to lose the impact," said Frank Korte, assistant general manager and sales for the CBS. "If the crowd continues at that level, it would be a problem."

At the same time, industry experts said that, so far, CBS has been the hands-down winner in the U.S. media war—giving widespread attention for its thorough coverage. Lynn Orlowski, spokeswoman for the all-news network, which reaches about 61 per cent of U.S. households, said that "ratings have been up since broadcast of every live shot"—giving the network an average prime time audience of 5.6 million households over the first week of the war. During that time, Canadian stations like CBC TV in Hamilton and the Toronto-based Global Tele-

vision Network relied on CBC's coverage. As well, several of the 130 U.S. stations affiliated with the major networks pre-empted network coverage to take feeds from CBS. Still, company officials admitted that CBS will suffer financially from lost advertising. Said Korte Koppel, corporate communications director for Turner Network, "It's a shame we're getting our highest ratings, but we're dropping the number of ads we see."

For their part, many advertisers expressed concern that they would lose an important advertising medium if prolonged television war coverage created an unsuitable climate for promoting their products. Although tight military control of reporting from the Persian Gulf has kept viewers from seeing the war on the screens, many corporate advertisers recalled experiences during the Vietnam War in the late 1960s, when viewers complained about what commercials running ads to violent scenes of war. Said Fox: "It's a nightmare for any advertiser. Some products just don't belong next to scenes of heavy battle and destruction."

Indeed, network executives say that they will have to scramble to replace or reschedule advertising that was preempted during the first two weeks of the war. Alexander Bernheim, vice-president of marketing for CTV, said that the network has been trying to move preempted ads to future time slots. He added: "We're offering space that could have been sold to another client."

Meanwhile, the soaring cost of covering the war is adding to the financial strain on network news budgets. Although Canadian TV executives are reluctant to reveal the cost of Gulf coverage, they conceded that outside time alone was costing them thousands of dollars every day. Said Fred McQueen, the CBC's director of television news and current affairs: "It's impossible to predict when we will run out of money. We don't want to cut back any field coverage because that is a priority."

Still, faced with hesitant advertisers and added expenses, news divisions at networks across North America may be forced to reduce their war coverage or share resources. Some viewers have already expressed irritation at interruptions to the entertainment schedule. The CBC received more than 400 complaints when war coverage interrupted two days of the daytime British soap opera *Coronation Street*. But with most network staffs cranking news of the conflict, network executives face difficult choices over how they cover the war.

DEANE BRADY AND JAMES DEACON
in Toronto

The great decoder

Northrop Frye explored culture's myths



Frye: 'Heaven is this world as it appears to the awakened imagination'

Northrop Frye was no simple phenomenon to be summed up under a single label. Literary and social critic, gifted teacher, superb stylist and author of 24 major books—including *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957) and his landmark magnum study of the Bible, *The Great Code* (1982) and *Words with Power* (1990)—Frye turned his freely loved imagination to a host of subjects with the ease and adaptability of a prometheus. His work influenced many of the country's best writers, including Margaret Atwood and James Brown, while his teaching equipped several generations of students with a methodological means of seeing beyond the obvious. Frye died last week of a heart attack but he was also suffering from cancer at the age of 75, ending one of the most

studied at making small talk—but his friends accurately described him as a shy man whose remote manner hid a generous heart.

He was born in 1912 in Stratford, Ont., the youngest of Herman and Constance Frye's four children. Herman Northrop Frye was an extraordinarily bookish child. According to his biographer, John Ayer, by the time he was 6, Frye was dragging around a copy of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* "like a teddy bear." In 1918, his older brother, Howard, was killed in the First World War. At about the same time, his father's hardware business collapsed. Frye later said that the double trauma greatly affected him. The family later moved to Montreal, N.B., where the adolescent Frye struggled against his family's eastern Methodistism. But Ayer: "Frye managed to reject the negative, 'thou shalt not' part of Protestantism, while hanging on to the most positive social vision with its sense of a purpose in life."

After finishing high school, Frye travelled to Toronto as the New Brunswick representative at a 1929 speed-tying contest, pouring out 68 words a minute, he can remember. That autumn he began classes at Victoria College, where he fell under the influence of poet E.J. Pratt and academic Professor Edgar. It was the perceptive Edgar who nudged the gifted undergraduate in the direction of the English poet William Blake. At the time, the great bulk of Blake's poetry was considered to be an intractable swamp of private symbols. But Frye gradually rejected the prevailing view of Blake as an esoteric mystic, discovering instead that the poet had a rich, easily understood imaginative vision.

After graduation from Victoria College, Frye continued to struggle with Blake's mystery. During a three-year training period for the United Church ministry, he was promoted in 1936, he worked as a student pastor among the drought-stricken communities of southwestern Saskatchewan. In his 1960 book, *Archetype of Fear*, Ayer describes a remarkable passage of the scholarly young man: "trying to study Blake's lost, open letters with blurring notes and underlined people." Because of such experiences, Frye abandoned his ambition of entering the ministry.

Frye finally published his Blake book, *Fractal Symmetry*, in 1947, in the immediate aftermath of Canadian writers' Poésie from many of Canada's writers gradually followed. In our passage, he wrote in his distinctive epigrammatic style: "Heaven is this world as it appears to the awakened imagination." That observation defines the essence of Frye's teaching for the rest of his life: only people with educated imaginations, he believed, could live in a truly satisfying and civilized way. St. Francis Xavier, director of the Italian Cultural Institute at Toronto and as secretary of the 1987



At Victoria College, 1938: a shy man whose remote manner hid a generous heart

Roman vignette as Frye: "He was an exceptional humanist and a true revolutionary who believed that, through an educated imagination, you could transform reality." Witness, a former student and personal friend, added: "Frye believed the role of the imagination was 'to produce from the society we live in a vision of the society we want to live in.'"

Frye also taught that literature is not a baggage of supernatural stories and po-

etry, but rather a living, deeply unified whole. What great literature is, only in its mythic structure—is surviving off of the great, several stories of the loss of Eden and the struggle of heroes to find redemption. For Frye, the greatest source of such stories in Western civilization was the Bible. He never tired of pointing out how the biblical allusion creeps up everywhere—from the codenames of George Bush to the lyrics of Bob Dylan. Frye once claimed that

modern society's failure to pass on its biblical heritage amounted to "subprime in education. We're raising a generation of highly intelligent people who are deliberately unable to live without a cultural memory."

As for his personal life, Frye often claimed that he had arranged it so that nothing exciting could happen to him. And certainly, from the outside, his long, childless marriage to art historian and granddaughter Helen Kemp, whom he met at Victoria College and who died in 1980, was severely unexciting. But for Frye, who married his second wife, Elizabeth Brown, in 1984, the more rules served only to protect the fire of inner conviction. He lived alone for the quiet of obscurity for the freedom of creating personae. That was evident in his lecturing style, which was so cool and measured that it could seem dispassionate. But, standing behind a lectern: Frye had a talent for igniting young minds. Author Christine McCall says that after his first Frye lecture in 1964, she confided to her diary: "I think my head is coming off."

Frye gave the last lecture of his popular course "The Mythological Framework of Western Culture" on Dec. 4. Although he used a cane and was in obvious discomfort, he responded with his usual, understated eloquence to a student who wondered if anyone was displacing the power of metaphors—that the physical was supplanting the spiritual—in ordinary life. In reply, Frye referred to a relationship between quantum mechanics and Chinese metaphysics. "Metaphysics may make of it," he concluded with a smile, adding: "I had 150 years, I would work on that question." In fact, he had only under seven weeks before his thoughts would exist in his books alone—and in the minds and imaginations of his countless students.

JOHN DEMBOWSKI

GLIMPSSES OF A BOUNDLESS MIND

Just eight weeks before his death, Northrop Frye assumed a wide range of voices, including the *Editor-in-Chief* of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, in a commentary at his home in Toronto with *Maclean's* Executive Editor Carl Malice. Excerpt:

If a sculptor were to make a statue of a polite Canadian, he would depict somebody holding his breath and crossing his fingers. There has never been a time when Canada has not thought in terms of destruction. I think that Confederation was a terribly unfortunate accident, but its great disadvantage was that it was contained, which is a North American trait. And because they feel that, it throws them back on the same of cultural identity.

I am convinced that I had gone to Harvard or Princeton or Oxford (to live and work), what I have produced would have been quite differ-

ent to a political unit and therefore a province like other provinces. Canada, when I read, I think that French-speaking Canada is a tremendous cultural force in its own right. And I think that a national Canada is the inevitable conflict for Quebec because of the tendency of the economy to unite.

Philosophy there is a history, the history of cultural identity groups. Opposite the books in 19th-century United States and their revolutionary ideas. You know the balance and they turn out to be a source of tremendous creative genius in sculpture and painting. And you treat the French-Canadian in a minority and they produce a literature of great power. Then, finally, the last thing anyone would believe happens: English Canada comes to life and produces a specific culture that is respected and studied all over the world. They [English-Canadians] are a minority in their own country, which is a North American trait. And because they feel that, it throws them back on the same of cultural identity.

I am convinced that I had gone to Harvard or Princeton or Oxford (to live and work), what I have produced would have been quite differ-

ent to a nation and content. Discuss a Canadian scholar in the most open way. Mr. Malice and Robertson Dore and Alice Brown have become Canadian writers—through not trying to be Canadian. They simply write about what they know.

Classical culture is infinitely porous—it is not a culture in the sense of the world. That is what differentiates it from other cultures from rationalism. Rationalism is the purity of the reality of cultural identity.

A few weeks ago, I was travelling in Yugoslavia on a train from Zagreb to Croatia to Ljubljana, Slovenia, and then to Trieste, Italy, to Rome. I was in Trieste when I got off the train, I was in Slovenia, which speaks a different language from Croatia and has been a rather reluctant part of Yugoslavia. I thought, there was a culture—something that hangs on to its identity through centuries of being dominated, ignored and utilized by foreign conquerors.

I don't know if there was a word for the kind of thing I am. I suppose "cosmic" comes closest, a critic who recognizes no boundaries.



Hyde: doctors are starting to realize the scope and severity of the illness

HEALTH

Sick and tired

Seeking clues to a debilitating condition

Marian Gallacher says that she used to be active, working as a registered nurse in an emergency department in Hamilton, taking additional courses in nursing and with her husband, raising three children. But all that changed dramatically during the spring of 1987. Gallacher said that she suffered from a recurring respiratory infection and, later, fatigue, experiencing blackouts, memory loss and extreme weakness. As the symptoms persisted, she was forced to stop working. Finally, in January, 1988, Gallacher's doctor told her that she was suffering from chronic fatigue syndrome (CFS), a debilitating illness that affects at least 100,000 Canadians and more than two million Americans. "I had lost the ability to be a mother," said Gallacher, now 37. "I had lost my income. I had lost everything."

Although the disease, which is also known as post-viral-exhaustion syndrome, was first identified during the 1980s, medical experts say that only in recent years have they begun to realize the full scope and severity of the condition. And now, a drug developed in the United States shows signs of being able to curb the worst effects of the illness. Known as Amphetex, the drug may be available in Canada within the next two months for research purposes.

Over the years, doctors have advanced one-fitting theories about the causes of the disease. During the 1960s, some doctors contended

that the Epstein-Barr virus, which causes infectious mononucleosis, a viral infection with similar symptoms, also caused CFS. Researchers have also suggested that the polio virus was responsible for the condition. And different theories still abound. Dr. Byron Hyde, chairman of the Nightingale Research Foundation, a privately funded organization that promotes research into CFS, says that he believes the illness begins as a viral infection and results in a low-grade inflammation of the brain. What is unusual is that it can be triggered by any virus that affects the nervous, brain or spinal cord, including polio, measles, German measles and hepatitis. Hyde says that the disease is "probably" contagious in its early stages.

Other specialists, including Dr. Irving Selig, head of the division of infectious diseases at the University of Toronto and the Toronto Hospital, maintain that additional factors are present when people develop the condition. Although he says that he does not believe the condition is primarily a psychiatric problem, he adds that major stressful factors—including divorce, bereavement, illness or the loss of a loved one—can trigger the disease. He says that the illness is not contagious in its early stages.

been prevalent in the lives of people before the onset of the disease. His theory is that those people develop a variety of symptoms following a viral infection and, because they are already under stress, the symptoms persist longer than they normally would. Then, because of a subtle immune deficiency, which may also be the result of stress, the patients may be unable to fight off the virus. "And round and round it goes," Selig said.

Doctors agree that although the virus affects each individual differently, its course follows roughly the same pattern. Symptoms often include memory loss, dry throat, lower-than-normal temperatures, tender lymph nodes, extreme muscle weakness, fatigue and pain, headaches, sleep disturbances, constant tiredness. Sometimes, patients are also affected by seizures. The symptoms can last one week or become chronic, but Hyde says that the majority of patients are often able to work again within a year. More than 60 per cent of the victims are women, and a high number have had frequent contact with the public, including healthcare workers and teachers.

One of the more frustrating aspects of CFS for patients has been the fact that there was no known cure. But Hyde says that two medications may help. One, an over-the-counter stimulant supplement called Ritalin, which was developed by a Canadian doctor, is the first off from evening primrose plants. Gallacher, who takes eight of the capsules every day, and that the supplement gives her more energy and enables her to think more clearly.

According to Hyde, the experimental drug Amphetex, which attempts to regulate the production of viruses in the body, could prove even more effective. In one trial at Lake Tahoe, Nev., reported at last



Gallacher: lost everything

April, international symposium on epidemic encephalomyelitis in Cambridge, England, doctors treated 16 patients with Amphetex. Within a year, the majority had significantly improved.

Meanwhile, specialists say that they want to be warning the public to make other doctors treat CFS as a genuine illness. During the past year, researchers have developed brain-scanning techniques that can demonstrate exactly what happens to the nervous system as sufferers as viruses slow the flow of blood to the brain. And for the first time, the Canadian government has given the Nightingale Foundation \$10,000 for a one-day workshop at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver in the spring during which specialists will draw up guidelines for government action on the disease. Those are positive signs, experts say—signs that in the future, researchers may develop more understanding of what causes the condition and find ways to help victims to recuperate their lost lives.

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HEALTH

The costs of apathy

Cases of whooping cough have hit epidemic levels

The experience has been the same from Halifax to Edmonton—from urban suburbs to the remote of the Seaside, British Columbia, and the remote of the Seaside, British Columbia, and the remote of the Seaside, British Columbia. After the past year, doctors in many parts of the country have encountered alarming numbers of patients complaining of violent coughing spasms, followed by gasping intakes of breath and vomiting. At first, some physicians diagnosed the disease as bronchitis or some other respiratory problem. But it soon became clear that they were dealing with whooping cough, a contagious and sometimes fatal bacterial infection. Despite the fact that most Canadians are immunized against the disease as children, by the end of 1990 a whooping cough epidemic had struck more than 3,000 Canadian adults and children—a rise that threefold increase over the previous year, when only 2,440 cases were recorded.

Experts predicted the new outbreak, which began in 1983 and was felt most heavily in Alberta and Quebec, partly for the fact that some Canadians do not bother to get whooping cough shots for themselves and their children. Pertussis vaccine, distributed by Toronto-based Connaught Laboratories Ltd., is only half effective for between 50 and 90 per cent of the population, for others, the vaccine only lessens the severity of illness.

The worst outbreak of whooping cough in Canada so far was in Alberta, where 3,204 cases were recorded in 1990. According to Dr. John Waters, the province's director of communicable disease control, the outbreak was caused by a lack of immunization. Officials said that in the Halton region, 30 km south of Edmonton, where there have been an estimated 1,500 cases since early last year, as few as 10 per cent of the victims had completed their vaccine immunization for protection. "It was complacency," said Waters. "This generation has no experience with the disease."

Meanwhile, some doctors expressed concern that the outbreak might discourage families from obtaining vaccinations because it has started up the fact that even unvaccinated children can become ill. But most doctors contend that vaccination has probably saved scores of lives during the current epidemic and reduced the impact on those who picked up the disease.

ANN WELSHOLM

FILMS

Brothers in terror

The Kray twins ruled London's underworld

THE KRAYS
Directed by Peter Medak

Hollywood seems to be infatuated with Andrew Clio. In the past few months, it has released half a dozen gangster movies: *GoodFellas*, *Miller's Crossing*, *State of Grace*, *King of New York*, *The Godfather Part II* and, most recently, *New of Respect*. They are all fictional stories of American mobsters, often mixing them in a romantic light. But now, *The Krays* offers a sobering portrait of two real-life British crime lords. Twins Ronald and Reginald Kray ruled London's underworld with savage authority during the 1950s. Both are now serving 30-year prison terms in Britain. *The Krays* is a chilling, compelling and downright scary melodrama. At times, the violence verges on exploitation. But the actors who play the Krays, brothers Gary and Martin Kemp from the rock band Spandau Ballet, are really convincing. And the movie serves up a lethal mix of *Prohibition* and *Bratwurst* melodrama.

The story begins with an agonized scene of childhood as the boys enter the world in 1924. Raised in a tough East End neighborhood, Ronald (Gary Kemp) and Reginald (Martin Kemp) set up protection rackets, run nightclubs and dispatch British mob leaders with English brutality. *The Krays* becomes gangster melodrama, cutting a swath through high society. Reginald, who tries hard to be nice, marries a young innocent (Claire Forlani), then betrays her loyalty to deny—she considers vague film homages to *Bratwurst*, meanwhile, as a politically who enjoys playing tennis—and faces—with a major sharp twist.

The movie dwells heavily on the overbearing influence of the family: mother, Violet (Ruth Wainman), who also serves as the film's ruthless intelligence. "Men are born children and they stay children," she says. After her beloved son roasts each other in a boxing match, her husband calls it a good fight. "Fighting," she snarls, "is bringing up three kids out of the very smallest enough food to bring it up on." But despite the forensic subtlety, it is unclear whether Violet is supposed to be a sympathetic victim or the ultimate source of evil. And in a movie, *The Krays* remains as obscurely motivated as its characters.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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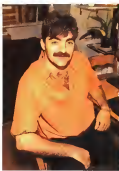
First-time winner

A new novelist gets a coveted Canadian award

During the two years that he spent writing his first novel, Alex Ricci had what he describes as the ideal method for motivating himself: "I would get up every morning," recalled the 31-year-old author, "and devote a half-hour to writing all the good things that might happen if I made myself write—things like seeing my work in print, things like receiving public acclaim, things like winning the Governor General's Award." Last week, just 10 months after the publication of *Lives of the Saints*, and in the wake of a steady stream of praise for that literary debut, the young writer indeed the third of those goals. On the stage of Montreal's Place des Arts, Governor General Roméo Levesque presented Ricci with Canada's most coveted literary prize. Sent the author in an interview: "All along, I have been striving myself for the time that will knock me down. Now, I finally feel as though I can take a little time to enjoy this."

For Ricci, winning the Governor General's Literary Award for English Language Fiction was especially gratifying because his favorite Canadian author, Alice Munro, was among the other nominees. For her sixth short-story collection, *Friend of My Youth*, a three-time winner of the award, Munro was the only best-selling author on this year's list of finalists, which also included Doris Schoenberger of Kingston, Ont., for her short-story collection *The Mass of My Dreams* and two Vancouver novelists, Sky Lee (*Disappearing Moon Café*) and Leslie Hall Fowler (*On Growth Theory*). In English country, the judges chose *Freedom and Other Times*, by Toronto author Stephen Clark and Christine McCall, from a strong short list of nominees.

Munro's inclusion among the fiction nominees pre-empted a report of the controversy that surrounded the award last year, when the judges failed to recognize Montreal's Ricci's critically acclaimed first novel, *Silence*. Garry Whelan, last week Ricci speculated that it was his relative obscurity that gave him the edge. Said Ricci: "There must be some level at which the press says, 'Okay, so Alex Ricci has written another wonderful book. But Alice Munro has already written five or six wonder-



Ricci: "In writing, I'm curing my isolation."

ful books. There may be an extra level of excitement in finding somebody else."

One of six children of Italian immigrants, Virginia and Antonio Ricci, the novelist was born in Leamington, Ont., 60 km southeast of Windsor, where his parents had settled to start their own home in 1954. During an interview at the small Toronto apartment where Ricci lives alone, the tall, lean author recalled that it was in Leamington, and in a series of trips to his parents' home region of Mexico, in south-central Italy, that he drew the inspiration for *Lives of the Saints*. Set in 1906, the novel tells the story of seven-year-old Vittoria Innocenti, who lives in a small Italian village with his strong-willed mother, Grazia. While Vittoria's father is in Canada preparing a new home for his family, Grazia becomes pregnant by another man. Scandalized, the adult villagers banish Grazia so their children could—actually torture—Vittoria. Eventually mother and son set out for Canada.

Although some passionate reviewers were critical of Ricci's prose style (Saturday Night magazine decried a "lack of artistry"), most critics followed the lead of author Timothy

Packley, who, in a blurb on the dust jacket, describes *Lives of the Saints* as "a novel of remarkable beauty and unforgettable power." But Ricci maintains that the response of readers—many of whom have told him that they greatly enjoyed the book—means more to him. And, he added, it has helped to justify the past few years of penury.

Ricci, who in 1987 earned a master's degree in creative writing from Concordia University in Montreal, has supported himself since then with government grants. In 1989, he lived on less than \$14,000. But now, he is beginning to see financial returns from his work. Along with last week's award, the Canada Council presented him with a cheque for \$18,000. And in March, McClelland Books of Scarborough, Ont., which published *Lives of the Saints*, will issue the author his first, long-awaited royalty cheque. Last September, the book appeared in Britain, and in April it is scheduled to come out in the United States.

Meanwhile, Ricci has almost finished a sequel to *Lives of the Saints*, which details Vittoria's early years in Canada. The author has also completed the first draft of a third installment. Ricci cautions that there are no ideological elements to his fiction. "In writing, I feel that I'm curing my isolation—taking what has happened to me and turning it into a form that is useful to the world," he said. Official recognition, he added, doesn't do wonders. "I certainly feel more legitimate than I did a year ago," said Ricci. "Most of all, I just feel glad that I don't have to write a novel hoping that it will win me my first Governor General's Award."

VICTOR DUTER

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- 5 *The Withering Hand*, by Ricci (4)
- 6 *Remember*, by Clark (4)
- 7 *The Fourth K*, by Lee (5)
- 8 *Backpacking*, by Goff (5)
- 9 *The Stones of New Love*, by Alende (10)
- 10 *Cold Fire*, by Kinn (15)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Iron John*, by Eli (2)
- 2 *Penumbra*, by Miller (2)
- 3 *Endgame and Our Times*, by Clark and McCall (2)
- 4 *Words with Power*, by Proulx (4)
- 5 *The Great Depression*, by Jones (4)
- 6 *Remember*, by Clark (4)
- 7 *The Trouble with Canada*, by Gaudier (4)
- 8 *The New Economy*, by Smith (4)
- 9 *Islands Emerging*, by Finkel (5)
- 10 *A Life in the Plunge*, by Proulx (5)

(1) Fiction best-seller

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Bafflegag in a living-room war

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Your agent, by nature, is pacifist and a coward, like the last war better. It unfolded strangly in the rooftop bar of the Conville Hotel in Saigon in 1962 with the little, pudgy beauty in the military across the river. Of the other occupants of the bar, *The New York Times'* David Halberstam was a Pulitzer Prize and almost stopped the war as his own. Malcolm Browne added his and can still be seen on your screen covering the war. Peter Aronson, the New Yorker whose brother used to sit beside me in the Vancouver Sea season, was a Pulitzer and of course is the CNN hero in Baghdad—and Neil Sheehan won a Pulitzer two years ago for the book on Vietnam that took him nine years to write. It was the first way to cover a war, especially with talent like that sitting at the next table.

There was also the (soon-dead) news that what you wrote had since resulted in the truth—what is why Halberstam and his colleagues covered the war more public against the war. They paid the truth—i.e., that the United States wasn't winning—while the military and the politicians lied and told the opposite. In Iraq, in the Vietnam War, the military authorities have made sure that the Vietnam situation will not be made again. The military will control the information, use the war, is an uncomfortable computer war, fought seven miles high where sensors and lasers rule, there has scarcely been cartoon: made of a single living dead body. Science has treated war. Missiles and rockets launch our only bullets and serve such human beings. Star.

Philip Kaphy, a British journalist who covered the official lies in his book *The First Casualty: From the Crime in Vietnam*, interviewed a number of distinguished war correspondents on their retrospective findings. Among them was Canada's Shirley Lynch, who confessed that, in retrospect, the dispatches he and his buddies were filing weren't even "journalism." They were cheerleaders.

Peter Gosciniak was announcing the other day about his hero, Ralph Allen, who like all the great ones, came from Saskatchewan. Ontario



being his craft. Allen came back from the war and retired. Marlowe's to write the page like Gosciniak, and he told them one of the most astonishing things he learned was that honorable men—poets and columnists and other officers—led to war. They led to loss and other war correspondents because it was their duty to be, although they were honorable, decent men.

A reporter of course, does not need to go to war anymore to find official people who lie in the guise of duty. A high-glance note to prime minister promises a columnist should a campaign plan that an interview with Michael is just around the corner, day after day with the full knowledge that an interview will ever take place.

There is one disadvantage, to the military and political abductors, is a long-room war that, thanks to satellites, can be viewed live, rolling right up there with the Super Bowl

and the weather reports. It is that the public—for the first time—has as much information as the reporters.

The scribbles in the field as his Boston Republic seldom picks it, because of the cartoonists, getting his news from CNN just the same as Aunt Mabel at home in Douglas, Miss. Soon it becomes apparent to the folks in Douglas as to the gaps in the dots of information being belted out.

The precision hits of the "launched" bombing is in the reason of news allowed on the screen, but there is no blood, no shattered limbs, no corpses. There has never been a war but this one without corpses, but when the military controls all information, corpses can be dispensed with.

Eventually, the good bangers in Douglas know what the questions on the screen already know: It's a sitcom version of war, somewhat

like *Chernobyl*, where everyone laughs at the one-line is from the guys who sit at the bar all night and on our comments on why they drink so much.

The amazing production of the Vietnam War, in which Israeli casualties can be seen in Technicolor, while the Iraq dead are somehow invisible, should rise for high accuracy in the *Greenland*. The police, for itself, can be described in Orwellian grammar, where "endurance" in fact means death from the sky and "harmless" are in fact not bombing raids but just the number of planes that have taken off that day.

Those who live by controlled information are doomed to the by controlled information. Living to the David Halberstam and Charles Leach and Ralph Allen of previous wars as one thing, mutually acknowledged interviews off in some war that When you lie on television to a couple of native reporters in South Africa, or Washington, or Ottawa, what is forgotten by those in charge is that all the nation is also watching, pouring for the first time over the shoulders of the scribbles they once despised.

Instead war, live in your living room, leaves little room for the baffle. The Pentagon spokesman who says too many times that he can't answer that question is revealed to Aunt Mabel as a chap who doesn't want to answer that question—probably because he leaves the answer.

Shirley Lynch reveals photos, as it revealed Richard Nixon and as it makes Ross Macdonald so obviously as uncomfortable before his unending gaze. The more the military and political pouch hats attempt to control the news out of this war, after brilliant escape from Vietnam the more they are revealed in their true act.

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